ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: RESPECTABLE HOLIDAYS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CAPITALISM AND IDENTITIES AT THE CROSBYSIDE HOTEL (c. 1870-1902) AND WIAWAKA HOLIDAY HOUSE (mid-1910s-1929), LAKE GEORGE, NEW YORK

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The nineteenth century industrialization of America, the development of the middle class, anxiety about social belonging, and industrial capitalism are deeply intertwined. As America industrialized, people moved from rural communities, where people were known and support systems ran deep, to the cities to find work. Managers, who acted as proxies for owners, became so prevalent that they formed a new class. Middle class identity, rooted in a particular performance of respectability, whiteness, gender, distinguished its members from untrustworthy capitalist business owners and from the rough lives of the working classes. Middle class values became synonymous with American values. This essentialization of middle class respectability is a manifestation of capitalist ideology wielded to create new markets under consumer capitalism.

Archaeological excavations at Wiawaka on Lake George, New York provided a material window on these processes. From 1857 to 1902, the Crosbyside Hotel served as a middle-class, mixed gender resort on the grounds of what is now Wiawaka. Vacationers performed middle class respectability and belonging while enjoying the benefits of nature. In 1903, Wiawaka moved in to the former Crosbyside, a single-gender, mixed-class moral reform vacation house for respectable working women and their middle-class benefactors. These women also performed middle class respectability and belonging while enjoying the benefits of nature. In both cases, people worked to make these vacations possible.

This dissertation is one of a very few archaeological investigations of late nineteenth century hotels, and the first to examine women's holiday houses. Using Third Space and performativity, artifacts from the Crosbyside and from the mid-1910s to 1929 associated with Wiawaka were used to explore interrelated facets of identity including gender, class, race, and respectability. Differences between how people negotiated identity in the era of industrial capitalism (Crosbyside) and consumer capitalism (Wiawaka) were identified, as were the ways that identities were shaped and confined by capitalism through powerful ideas of respectability. Also identified were material examples of the labor of leisure – of those who did the work that made vacations possible. Artifacts recovered make clear that it is, indeed, possible to see the labor of leisure in the archaeological record.

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Prologue

The series of events that led me to excavate at Wiawaka Holiday House on Lake George, New York began in spring of 2010, when I traveled from my home in central New Jersey to the site to help them open for the season. We hung drapes, washed floors, made beds, and generally freshened up the guestrooms after being closed up for the winter. During this visit, I learned a bit about the history of the place by talking to other volunteers, looking through albums and albums of photographs, and reading the histories displayed on the walls of the common rooms. Also during this visit, then-Director of Wiawaka Holiday House, Christine Dixon, learned that I was an archaeologist. That October, I received an email from Christine asking about the options for doing archaeology on Wiawaka property; the long-time volunteer gardener, Gail Oakes, had discovered a porcelain room number in one of the garden beds (Figure 1). In my response, I noted that I was applying for PhD studies in historical archaeology, and had an interest in doing feminist archaeology, particularly around women's history and gender. After several conversations and a presentation to the Wiawaka Board of Directors, I was invited to conduct my dissertation research at the site.

It was important to me that excavating at Wiawaka be about more than just getting my data. I wanted it to be a collaborative project, with the site and with the public. One of the first questions I had for the Director was, what do you want to get out of this project? Her response came quickly: publicity. At many points during its history, Wiawaka had struggled to bring in enough guests to be able to survive. Past boards had entertained

Figure 1: Hotel room recovered from one of the Wiawaka gardens. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

allowing men throughout the season; of extending or shortening the season; of allowing children; of modernizing to be more like the hotels and motels in Lake George, with telephones and televisions in each of the rooms (Wiawaka Holiday House Archives). The struggle to survive was a real one; in the early twentieth century, there were scores of women's holiday houses across the country. These were very similar to Wiawaka: places where working women could take an affordable vacation in a natural setting. Indeed, there were over 30 Girls' Friendly Society holiday houses alone in the early twentieth century (Wiawaka was originally founded under the auspices of the Girls' Friendly Society, an Episcopalian organization), as well as those run by unions, companies, other religious organizations, groups of like-minded women, and social welfare organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). They had names like Camp Moodna, Cromwell Manor, Fernside, French Point Camp, Rockport Lodge,

Winnecunnet, Seashore Cottages, and the Union Vacation House (see Chapter 3). All struggled with declining visitation as the twentieth century progressed, and by the third quarter of the 1900s, most were gone. Publicity would help bring awareness and hopefully new visitors to Wiawaka.

Over eighty volunteers helped with the excavation, research, and processing of artifacts. They were recruited via announcements on national and regional archaeology, history, and women's history email lists, via Facebook posts, and press releases that I sent out as well as announcements distributed by Wiawaka Holiday House, previous volunteers, and local organizations including historical societies. Volunteers ranged in age from 18 to 80; they were undergraduate and graduate students and professors in history, archaeology, science, political science, and other fields. They were artists, writers, librarians, school teachers, corporate workers and executives, spiritual mediums, reporters, and government employees. Few of them knew about Wiawaka before volunteering; all of them left with an appreciation of the site and its history. Excavations (and therefore Wiawaka) received extensive press coverage, including multiple instances of full- and front page coverage in local papers, national coverage via the Associated Press that was published in newspapers as far-flung as New Mexico and California, and television coverage by local news outlets.

Volunteers took away hands-on experience in archaeological excavation and interpretation both at Wiawaka, but several also had the opportunity to work on a cannon documentation project at nearby Fort William Henry. Several volunteers have used their

time at Wiawaka as professional development, and have gone on to work for cultural resource management companies as field crew and as Principal Investigators. Others are pursuing education in archaeology or other branches of anthropology. Perhaps more importantly, however, volunteers left the site with the experience of working with and learning from each other – across generations, across educational and occupational divides, and across other social boundaries that usually serve to keep people apart.

Structure

The first chapter, this introduction, introduces the broad scope of the dissertation and presents the theoretical framework that will shape the interpretation. Chapter 2 provides a history of the vacation habit in general, with a focus on the Lake George region in particular. Against this backdrop, Chapter 3 provides a history of the Wiawaka Holiday House history, from pre-contact times through the present. Chapter 4 presents the fieldwork, including field methodology and descriptive results. Chapter 5 brings the archaeological evidence to bear in exploring the research questions outlined here. Chapter 6, the conclusion, summarizes the work done and outlines both how these results address larger research questions in archaeology and other disciplines, and also outlines directions for future work.

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pointed me in directions I didn't know I needed to take. Not only is this dissertation a product of their mentorship and guidance, but I am a better person for it. Thank you, all of you.

A special thank you to Chris Dixon, former Executive Director of Wiawaka Holiday House, who first contacted me about archaeology at Wiawaka, and to Peg Mackey and the Board of Directors who took a leap of faith and invited me to conduct my dissertation research on site. Without the incredible support and camaraderie of everyone at Wiawaka, from the Board of Directors to staff, volunteers, and visitors, this work would not have been possible. Thank you for everything, especially to Executive Director Meaghan Wilkins, who rolled with the punches as we showed up to dig just as she was beginning in her new position.

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This work is dedicated to two who are no longer with us:

My Dad, Ian Springate (1946-2010)

Volunteer John “Doc” Farrell (1946-2013)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Women's holiday houses were a product of the Progressive Era, the period that followed the Gilded Age (post-Civil War through ca. 1890) of exploding industrialization and the vicious exploitation of labor by the robber barons. While historians generally agree that the Progressive Era began ca. 1890, there is some debate as to whether it ended with World War One or extended into the era of the New Deal (see Johnston 2011 for an overview). Fernside, the first women's holiday house founded in the United States, opened in 1890, just as the Progressive Era began. It was founded by the Working-Girls' Club of Boston (later the Girls' Vacation House Association), with the Women's Educational and Industrial Union acting as agents (Ceccacci 2002; Eicks 1939; Peimer 2011). In archaeology, there is a developing corpus of work focusing on the Progressive Era, as the twentieth century is increasingly studied (see, for example De Cunzo 2001; Horn 2009; McGuire 1991; Shackel 2009; Shackel and Palus 2006).

The reforms of the Progressive Era were a response to the incorporation of America, increasing immigration, the influx of people to cities to find work in increasingly industrial urban centers, and reaction to the resulting poor working conditions. Often framed as white, middle-class responses formed either in the context of fear and self-protection or as acts of benevolence, recent research explores a more complex Progressive Era where women, minorities, and the working classes also worked for social reform, often with goals and motivations at odds with other reformers. From new employment opportunities to control over their reproductive capacities and securing the

right to vote, American women were active participants in Progressive Era social changes. Much of the literature focuses on middle- and upper-class involvement with issues like morality, domestic reform, and child welfare (Alexander 1995; De Cunzo 2001; Fitzpatrick 1990; Flanagan 2002, 2007; Hobson 1987; McGerr 2003; Muncy 1991; Odem 1995; Spencer-Wood 1996; Weibe 1967). Other historians have looked at women's reform from the perspective of the working classes, focusing particularly on the contexts of labor and leisure (Aron 1999; Enstad 1999; Kessler-Harris 2003; Murolo 1997; Orleck 1995; Peiss 1986).

During this period of reform, many middle-class women toiled to reform and improve the lives of working and lower-class women. This included charities sending "friendly visitors" to urban tenements to determine whether residents were "worthy" or "unworthy" of assistance. The worthy were those who, because of sickness, accident, disability or age were unable to work; the unworthy were those who did not work (or did not work enough, or did not do work of the "correct" type) despite being able bodied, were drunk, promiscuous, criminal, lazy, or otherwise exhibited behavior deemed unacceptable. In 1884, the President of the New York Board of Charities described the unworthy poor as a "fungus growth," and "the most limpsy, hopelessly inert, and utterly good-for-nothing objects in the world" (Schlabach 1969:Chapter 1). These upper and middle class women claimed the moral authority to judge working women against white, middle class standards in how to conduct their lives, and to reward them with assistance if they acceded, or to punish them by withholding assistance if they did not (Murolo 1997:146; Schlabach 1969:Chapter 1). Other moral reform projects of the time, designed

to improve the moral lives of those they targeted, were less obviously manipulative. They included food safety programs, settlement houses, and the introduction of playgrounds to urban spaces (Addams and Brown 1999; Muncy 1991; Spencer-Wood and Blackburn 2017).

These reform projects and others of the period (see Springate 2017a) were organized around ideas of acceptability and respectability. Respectability politics, the internalization of middle class standards of acceptable behavior and respectability, was first articulated by Evelyn Higginbotham (1993) in the context of Black civil rights work by women in the Black Baptist church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The term describes the self-policing of marginalized groups that enforces social values deemed compatible with mainstream values. This assimilation is framed as a strategy for acceptance, and is at odds with strategies that challenge the mainstream's failure to embrace difference. The themes of respectability and respectability politics echo throughout this research as embodiments of capitalist ideology.

Women's holiday houses were not the only vacation-oriented reform projects dating from the Progressive Era. There were also summer vacation properties for mixed gender communities, including General Electric's Camp Claverack on Lake Ontario for employees and their families and friends, and their Camp Nela in Cleveland, Ohio for male and female employees (Ripley 1918:520-523). Unity House, located in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, was opened by the New York local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) for the benefit of their members (men,

women, and their families). In its heyday it could accommodate 1,100 overnight guests and had over 300 staff. In 1919, the weekly rate was $13 (ExplorePAHistory 2011; Kessler-Harris 2007:47; Wolensky 1998:21-23). In 1929, the national ILGWU union took it over. The ideology of Unity House was "a promise of a better day and evidence of [the union's] ability to bring on that day" (Wolensky 1998:24). With declining visitation as the garment industry moved overseas in the early 1980s, the national ILGWU could no longer afford to keep Unity House open, and it closed in 1989 (Ellis 1990; Wolensky 1998:28). There were also many, many camps for children, including those operated by the YWCA, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and other organizations and individuals (Hodes 1985; Schulte 1993:141; van Slyck 2006). These were all operated with the idea that nature was healing, and that spending time away from urban areas in nature was restorative.

This work began as a focus on women's holiday houses and Wiawaka Holiday House more specifically, particularly during the late 1910s and 1920s – a period represented by a significant artifact assemblage recovered during excavations. What began as a project to look at gender and class at an early twentieth century women's retreat turned into much more. Wiawaka was not the only entity that existed at this location. In 1853, the United States Hotel was built on this site, one of the first resort hotels in the area constructed on land that could be purchased rather than leased. It failed rather quickly and, following a short hiatus in 1855 when it housed the Lake George Young Ladies' Institute, the building opened as the Crosbyside Hotel, a concern that lasted through the last years of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 3). Artifacts from a midden dating from

the last years of the Crosbyside Hotel allows a comparison between a white, middle class, heterosocial resort that flourished during the Gilded Age (Crosbyside) and a white, mixed-class homosocial vacation house (Wiawaka) that flourished during the Progressive Era.

A Note About Race: Race in America is a complex and complicated topic. Rooted in superficial biological variability and societal power structures, the concept of race – what the defining characteristics are and who falls into what category – is constantly in flux. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (the periods focused on by this dissertation) dozens of races were recognized in the United States. While some of these categories were defined by skin color or other physical characteristics, many of them were defined by country of origin. For example, Jewish people, the Irish, and Italians were among those groups considered to be not-white. This complicates the relationships and identities that I discuss; however, whiteness here refers largely to middle class people with Anglo-European roots (for more in-depth discussions about race and the shifting definitions of whiteness in America, see Painter 2010 and Isenberg 2016).

The Role of Archaeology

Historians have long studied aspects of the American capitalist system, including the shift from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Era. While traditional scholarship has emphasized the role of wealthy industrialists in the creation and maintenance of the capitalist state, recent work has complicated the story by looking at small business owners and the laborers themselves as active forces in the shifting capitalist ideologies of

this period (see Beckert 2011, Edwards 2011, and Johnston 2011 for current overviews of the issues and recent trends in scholarship). Archaeologists are also increasingly exploring American capitalism and providing important insights not available solely from the documentary record. Of particular note here are: an early book chapter (Leone and Potter 1988) and an early edited volume, *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism* (Leone and Potter 1999); the work of Mark Leone and others doing critical archaeology that is based on piercing the ideologies of capitalism (Leone 2010; Leone et al. 1987; Roller 2015a, 2015b); the work of Randall McGuire who works from a Marxist approach to the ideologies of capitalism (McGuire 1991, 1992, 2002, 2008; Paynter and McGuire 1991); Paul Shackel who has done considerable work in the archaeology of labor, particularly focused on the struggles and open conflicts of organized/organizing labor (Shackel 2009. 2013a; Shackel and Palus 2006); and three recent syntheses: *The Archaeology of American Capitalism* by Christopher Matthews (2010); *The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism* by Sarah Cowie (2011); and *Labor Archeology of the Industrial Era: Identifying and Evaluating Nationally Significant Archeological Sites of Labor in the Industrial Era in the United States. A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Fracchia and Roller 2014).

Unlike capitalism, women's holiday houses have had very little coverage in the historical literature. Other than being mentioned in passing by historians, there has been little focused research on the subject. The only exceptions are Mollie Marchione's (1996) Masters' thesis on General Electric's French Point Camp, located just a few miles north of Wiawaka Holiday House on Lake George, and Janet Schulte's (1993) PhD dissertation

which includes some discussion of holiday houses in her larger context of New England vacation communities. There has previously been no archaeology of women's holiday houses. Though archives exist for some of these types of places (i.e., Earle 2012; Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives 2011; Knowles, Aloisio, and Engelhart 2016; Peimer 2011; Wiawaka Holiday House Archives), they are generally limited to documents regarding the running of these places. Missing are the day-to-day experiences of those who visited and worked there. One of the strengths of historical archaeology is the ability to bring to light these day-to-day activities from the material remains of the past.

Archaeology is also uniquely positioned to contribute to studies of historical reform. Missing from many historians' studies of reform movements is a consideration of the material aspects of reform: how objects, landscapes, and built structures have been used to embody and enforce reform ideals. Archaeology is especially suited to looking at these material aspects of reform, as well as material evidence of resistance and negotiation between and among both the reformed and the reformers (e.g. Baugher and Spencer-Wood 2010; Beisaw and Gibb 2009; De Cunzo 1995, 2001, 2006; McAtackney and Palmer 2016; Piddock 2001; Spencer-Wood and Baugher 2001; Springate 2017a).

Finally, tying together the assemblages from the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House is the unique approach of archaeological studies to capitalism. One of the challenges to studying capitalism archaeologically is that it is many things at once, serving many purposes at once (Leone 1999; Leone and Knauf 2015; Leone et al. 1987;

Matthews 2010:9; Roller 2015b; Shackel 1993). These many things include an economic system (Smith 1776); a social system (McGuire 1992, 2002); a way of life (Marx 1967); and an ideology (Althusser 1971; Marx 1967; Marx and Engels 1970; Weber 1930). For the purposes of this research, capitalism is understood to be an economic and social system geared explicitly for the creation of private profit by elites (the wealth holding groups) through the physical labor of the workers (the wealth producing groups). Social stratification, called "class," is based on the control of wealth and power in a capitalist system (Leone 1999:5). Emerging from the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century was the American middle class. It was made up largely of a new class of worker, the manager. Managers, almost exclusively white men, acted as an intermediaries between capitalists and laborers as industrialization made it impossible for business owners to manage their growing pools of workers. Neither wealth producer nor wealth holder, middle class Americans invented themselves as a socially-recognizable group of people by publishing books on middle class etiquette and policing appropriate behavior (see, for example, Kasson 1990). These white middle class standards quickly became the American standard of acceptable and respectable behavior, imposed on the working classes including new immigrants coming to America – a process described very clearly by African American writer and social critic James Baldwin:

> …the price of the American ticket – from Russia, from Italy, from Spain, from England – was to pretend you didn't know where you came from; and furthermore, that you would not pay dues for where you came from. It's called "upward mobility." No one with a job in England got on the *Mayflower*. I'm the only American who knows he didn't want to come here. I know what is happening in Boston is that all those descendants of the Irish potato famine came here. The price of the ticket was to cease being Irish, cease being Greek, cease being Russian, cease being whatever you had been before, and to become "white." And *that* is why this country says it's a white country and really believes it is (Baldwin 1980[2011]:156; see also Stansell 1982:219-220).

Although it engages with its ideologies, archaeology approaches capitalism by looking at its very concrete and material effects. The bottles, ceramics, personal effects, and food remains recovered are not just trash: they are physical manifestations of the workings of capitalism. One area that archaeologists have made significant contributions to the study of capitalism is in the tensions between workers and elites (e.g. McGuire and Reckner 2002; McGuire and Walker 1999; Wurst 2006). For example, while erased from historical memory or denied or downplayed in documents, archaeology has shed light on violent, murderous clashes between workers and mine owners in coal country, including at Ludlow, Colorado (Larkin and McGuire 2009; Ludlow Collective 2001; McGuire and Reckner 2003; Reckner 2009; Walker 2000), Lattimer, Pennsylvania (Lattimer Massacre Project 2016; Roller 2013; Shackel and Roller 2012; Shackel, Roller, and Sullivan 2011), and Blair Mountain, Virginia (Duke and Saitta 1998; Nida 2013; Nida and Adkins 2011). The archaeology of capitalism also examines more abstractly the role of identity in capitalist systems: "The archaeological record of capitalism consists of the ways in which … materials were employed by people to construct themselves abstractly. They represent the means by which people became depersonalized commodities, and reveal how people used material culture to produce their individuality by forming relations with desirable objects" (Nassaney 2010:x). Not only does capitalism create identities (including class, gender, and race), but these identities are the reflection and reification of power relationships. The ideology of capitalism requires that certain aspects of identity be considered essential and immutable, and also that people believe that they actively and freely construct their own identities (Leone and Potter 1999:vii; Matthews 2010:1-3).

Increasingly, researchers are acknowledging the intersections of race and class. For example, denied access to non-manual and higher status jobs because of their race, status negotiation and display within African American communities was evaluated on different criteria than within white communities. Expressions of middle-class status in African American communities included literacy, home ownership, occupation of single- versus multi-family dwellings, and work as laborers instead of domestic servants (Harris 2003; Springate and Raes 2013; Wall et al. 2008). Materials from the Crosbyside Hotel and from Wiawaka Holiday House reveal volumes about the changes in capitalism from the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century to the consumer capitalism that took root in the early twentieth century, how these were reflected in individual and social identities, the marketplace, and how they continue to resonate today.

In 1988, Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr. succinctly framed the challenge of studying capitalism archaeologically, but also issued a call to action:

> If we accept for historical archaeology the basically anthropological task of understanding everyday life in the past and what accounts for its structure, and if we define ideology as something that hides or masks certain underlying aspects of social reality (Althusser 1971), then archaeologists of the recent past have the job of piercing a *living* ideology…. We contend that it is more difficult to penetrate an ideology that is still serving living interests than it is to see through a dead ideology, one with no contemporary beneficiaries." (Leone and Potter 1988:372)

Since this challenge and call to action was articulated, feminist and queer approaches to historical archaeology have provided frameworks to address these living ideologies. For example, ideologies at play which reinforce a particular system are, as Leone and Potter suggest, generally invisible to those living within them. They constrain what Gayle Rubin

(1984) describes as the charmed circle: behaviors that are privileged and deemed respectable by society.[1] Peggy McIntosh's (1988) work, often cited as *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack*, also describes a way of thinking about privileged behaviors and identities. These privileged, respectable behaviors are, and have been, closely defined by white, heterosexual, middle class standards – themselves products of a capitalist system. How these ideologies act to constrain and shape behavior is often visible to those on the margins of the charmed circle and those who are not constrained within it. This is the premise for standpoint theory, a feminist methodology introduced to archaeology by Alison Wylie (2003). Standpoint theory posits that individuals subject to structures of domination and systemic marginalization and oppression — like women, queers, and people of color — may be epistemically privileged in some ways: "They may know different things, or know some things better than those who are comparatively privileged (socially, politically), by virtue of what they typically experience and how they understand their experience" (Wylie 2003:26). These individuals may, because of their different standpoint, be able to pose different kinds of research questions that illuminate relationships that others may have taken for granted or not been aware of.

Feminist Archaeologies

While feminist and gender archaeologies both look at gender in the archaeological record, feminist archaeologies are among several approaches that recognize the political nature of knowledge creation (Hodder 1991; Little 2002, 2009; Matthews 2004, 2009;

[1] In her 1984 essay, "Thinking Sex," Rubin describes the charmed circle as containing those sexual behaviors privileged by society. Here, I expand this idea to include all behaviors privileged by society and considered "respectable."

Shackel 2001, 2013b; Wood 2002). Increasingly engaged with social justice, these approaches are variously framed as emancipatory archaeology (Duke and Saitta 1998; Nida 2010); politically engaged archaeology (Duke and Saitta 1998; McGuire 2008; Smith 1999); critical archaeology (Leone et al. 1987; Leone 2010); heritage development (Shackel 2004; Smith and Waterton 2009); community archaeology (Wall et al. 2004); civic engagement (Agbe-Davies 2010b; Gadsby and Chidester 2007; Little and Shackel 2007); restorative justice (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007); and activist archaeology (Stottman 2010). Like all of these, feminist archaeologies are inherently political and engage not just with the past but with the present.

Across the several different feminist theories and approaches that can be used to interpret the past (see Spencer-Wood 2009) are several common characteristics that distinguish feminist archaeology from the archaeological study of gender (compiled from Brumfiel 2006; Conkey 1991a; Gilchrist 1991; Little 1994a, 1994b; Spencer-Wood 2001, 2006; and Wylie 2003):

- gender is a foundational social structure that always needs to be analyzed;
- it makes women visible;
- power dynamics and gender roles are addressed;
- it is anti-essentialist, problematizing categories like gender, sex, and sexuality;
- it is reflexive;
- the epistemic entanglement of the researcher is acknowledged; and

- it recognizes that archaeology is political and engages with its uses and implications for the present, and may be used for activist ends.

Gender archaeology, on the other hand, is generally explicitly dis-engaged from the political nature of knowledge creation in the present.

Gender vs. Sex vs. Sexuality. Gender, sex, and sexuality are distinct, yet deeply intertwined, aspects of human life (for an early discussion of these as distinct categories, see Rubin 1975, 1984).

In the mid- to late-1990s, studies of various brothels focused on the female employees as case studies of seeing women in the archaeological record; none examined the role or material culture of the brothels' clients (Costello 1999; Seifert 1991, 1994; Voss and Schmidt 2000). It wasn't until the late 1990s and the turn of the millennium that researchers began to focus on gender construction and variability in the past, producing early works that recognized multiple genders and analyzed gendered power relationships (Conkey and Gero 1997; Nelson 1997; Prine 2000). Publication of the archaeologies of lesbianism (Casella 1999, 2000a, 2000b) and gay leathermen (Rubin 2000) occurred just as queer theory began to explicitly make its way into archaeological discourse (Dowson 2000; Voss 2000). Key works extending the conversation to masculinities were published in the early-to-mid 2000s (Alberti 2006; Joyce 2004; Wilke 2001).

While there was some early work on gender construction and variability in the past (Conkey and Gero 1997), much of the work dealing with gender in archaeology continues to essentialized gender and the gender binary. “Woman/female” and “man/male” have generally been the only categories that archaeologists have used, and our understanding of what defines those categories has been limited (Voss and Schmidt 2000:14).

In contemporary Western society, the categories of gender, sex, and sexuality are generally perceived as binary: people can be male or female, man or woman, homosexual or heterosexual. Correlations among these categories are also often essentialized: for example, effeminacy in men and masculinity in women are assumed to equate with homosexuality. These associations and the binary models of gender, sex, and sexuality are culturally and temporally specific; they are not universal, immutable categories. Cultural anthropologists have long recognized that some cultures recognize more than two genders. These include many Native American tribes (Roscoe 2016), Aboriginal Australians (sistergirls and brotherboys), Myanmar (*acault*); Albania (*burrnesha*); Oman (*xanith*); Oxaca, Mexico (*muxe*); and others (Nanda 2014; PBS 2015). The Bugis people of South Sulawesi, Indonesia recognize five genders (Davies 2006). In fact, it could be argued that our society functionally recognizes three genders: men, women, and children. Children are often referred to as distinct from men and women (when the ship is sinking, its “women and children first!” that are rescued), and indeed, young children are often allowed to play in just diapers and no shirts for several years before girls are socially required to wear tops. These gender-less children can be considered a third gender category. In some cases, gender identity and expression can shift and change throughout

a person's life, further putting lie to the idea that gender is an essential characteristic (see, for example, Stryker 2016). For archaeological examples from Native American culture, see Hollimon (2000, 2009) and Prine (2000).

Essentialist arguments to the contrary, biological sex is also not a binary category. The biological sex of a person is generally assigned at birth, based on the presence of particular genetalia (which may not match with a person's genetics). There are, however, a significant number of people born intersex – not clearly male or female. The rates for all the variations of this vary widely; however, in general, the frequency of intersex births in the United States ranges from 1 in 1,500 to 1 in 2,000 (Intersex Society of North America 2008). Fausto-Sterling (1993, 2000) provides evidence for multiple types of biological sex, including those with chromosomes of XXX, XXY, XO, arguing that there are at minimum five biological sexes.

Sexuality also is not binary, nor is it an essential, fixed characteristic. Based on observations done in the 1930s and 1940s, Dr. Alfred Kinsey published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Kinsey et al. 1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research 1953). In these works, Kinsey described human sexuality existing on a spectrum, ranging from totally heterosexual to totally homosexual, with variations in between, as well as the existence of asexuality (people who "have no socio-sexual contacts or reactions;" see, for example, Kinsey et al. 1948:656). Where people fell on the spectrum of sexual attraction was not fixed, and

Kinsey found that people's preferences shifted and changed depending on their life circumstances.

Despite the work being done in other fields, archaeologists have tended to interpret their data with the assumptions that sex, gender, and sexuality are fixed, binary characteristics. As described above, recent work in archaeology done through an intersectional lens and using queer theory have begun to productively challenge these assumptions. Also being challenged is the very assumption that, as in Western society, sex and gender are necessarily categories around which cultures are organized (see, for example, Hollimon 2000, 2009; Prine 2000).

A Brief History of Feminist Archaeology. Feminist archaeology and gender archaeology developed side by side beginning in the late 1980s. The often-repeated dominant narrative is that feminist archaeologists like Joan Gero (1985), Margaret Conkey (1991a, 1991b), and Janet Spector (1993) began challenging the gendered assumptions underlying much of the then-current archaeological interpretation. From these challenges came research questions around the nature of gender and, rejecting the politics of feminism, a separate archaeology of gender was developed. Analysis of early abstracts (Hanen and Kelley 1992) and interviews with participants (Wylie 1992, 1997) associated with the first major conference (over 100 papers) about gender in the archaeological record (the 1989 Chacmool Conference at the University of Calgary, Canada) indicate a different trajectory (Wylie 2009). While three quarters of the conference respondents who were interviewed expressed an interest in research on gender, less than half were familiar

with feminist research or feminism, and 80% of the authors avoided the word 'feminism' in their abstracts. Indeed, many participants reported having "sharp reservations" about being labeled a feminist (as did I, earlier in my career) – arguably an example of respectability politics in the heavily masculine field of archaeology. Wylie interprets this as "manifest evidence… of a 'grass roots' interest in gender studies that had arisen and was thriving in archaeology largely independent of feminist influence" (Wylie 2009:282). In other words, feminist and gender archaeology developed in parallel, not one from the other. And yet, it was precisely because of the various feminist movements and advances in the status of women that so many women had the opportunity to research, present, and publish their work at the Chacmool conference and beyond — even if they chose not to explicitly engage in feminist theory.

Just as researchers in gender archaeology tend to be disengaged from the political implications of their research, they also tend to ignore their own subjectivity/epistemic entwining. Yvonne Marshall (2008) writes that "the price we have paid for mainstream recognition of gender archaeology is the political dimension of feminism." But even feminist-free archaeologies of gender have not been as successful as this would suggest. In 1998, the editors of *Archaeological Dialogues* described the archaeology of gender as healthy and thriving. And yet, gender archaeology continues to be isolated into its own section of textbooks, rather than being integrated throughout. In addition, almost thirty years after the 1989 Chacmool, conference papers continue to describe both the marginalization of gendered interpretations of the past, and also to illuminate the value of doing such research (Blackmore 2017; Englestad 2007:229). Ironically, while fear of

exclusion and ghettoization and the goal of appearing respectable kept presenters at Chacmool in 1989 from identifying as feminist (Wylie 2009), this did not result in their research becoming mainstream. Englestad (2007) is among those who argue that the distancing of gender archaeology from feminism is actually holding back advances in the field: "The lack of engagement with feminism and with feminist theory limits the radical and critical process of engendering the past and archaeology. Gender archaeology is at risk of losing its ability to disrupt traditional archaeological interpretations and make new theoretical and substantive contributions" (Englestad 2007:229-230; see also Tomáškova 2011). Ground-breaking work in feminist archaeology includes Whitney Battle-Baptiste's (2011) articulation of a Black feminist archaeology, and feminist work by Yvonne Marshall and others at Greenham Common in the United Kingdom (Marshall 2009; Marshall, Roseneil, and Armstrong 2009; Schofield and Anderton 2000).

Feminist Archaeology and Capitalism. I refer to feminist approaches in archaeology in the plural, as there are several different approaches, each with different emphasis on the nature of agency, culture, identity, etc. My feminist approach is rooted in Marxist-feminist ideas first articulated by Friedrich Engles (1942) examining how capitalism has been gendered. In his examination of power dynamics in gender relations, Engles described men as analogous to the capitalist bourgeoisie and women as the exploited proletariat. A Marxist-feminist lens reveals that women's household labor has, although essential to the capitalistic system, been devalued (see Spencer-Wood 2009:37). Respectability in capitalism is tied inextricably with the manners, mores, and morals of the white middle class, with certain behaviors coded as appropriately male and female.

There is, in other words, no way to separate gender, class, and race in interpreting the artifact assemblages of the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House. In her research, historian Judith Bennett (2006) locates the origins of these gendered divisions of labor and capital, and the very earliest glimmers of capitalism, in the medieval period.

Problematic in Marxist-feminist thought are the assumption of binary gender (i.e. that there are only men/male and women/female people in society), and a general eliding of intersectionality and the multiple ways that gender and other axes of identity like ethnicity affect how individuals interact with and are affected by the capitalist system. So-called third wave feminism (see Hewitt, 2010; Hewitt, ed., 2010 for arguments against the use of "waves" in describing the history of feminism) provides a means of addressing these problems. This feminist thought acknowledges both individual agency and intersectionality, recognizing "women's social agency in creating a variety of gender ideologies, identities, roles, relationships, and actual practices…related to the complex intersections of gender with class, race, ethnicity, and other social variables" (Spencer-Wood 2009:44; see also Geller 2009). In addition, third-wave feminist theory recognizes that diversity and fluidity of gender identities and gendered experiences of individuals is possible, even within a particular gender ideology (patriarchy) (Spencer-Wood 2009:44). Likewise, postmodern feminist theory opens the door to analyzing the diversity and fluidity of institutional practices in contrast to their ideals, as reflected in architecture and regulations (Spencer-Wood 2009:46).

Queer Archaeology

Queer theory, which has its roots in so-called third-wave feminism, emerged in the early 1990s from the fields of queer and women's studies. In general it is a framework that demands engagement with, evaluation of, and challenge to what we think we know, assume, and privilege — as a society, as researchers, and as individuals. Queer theory acts to unbalance and destabilize what Katrina Eichner calls "dominant fictions" (Eichner 2015); it is "at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant" (Halperin 1995:62). Key authors in the field of queer theory include Judith Butler (1990, 1993), David Halperin (1995), Judith (Jack) Halberstam (1998, 2005), José Esteban Muñoz (1999) and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990).

It was not until 2000 that the first works specifically articulating queer theory in archaeology were published (Dowson 2000; Voss 2000). Early uses of queer theory in archaeology challenged the essential nature of gender that had underpinned much of the previous work in gender archaeology, and began framing it as produced, performed, and/or embodied both interpersonally and in concert with community (Hollimon 2000, 2009; Joyce 2004, 2008; Perry and Joyce 2001; Prine 2000; Voutaski 2010). More recent work in archaeology has begun to disrupt and question other categories that seem essential and natural, thereby challenging the methodologies and interpretations that we base on those assumptions (Blackmore 2011:78; Croucher 2005:611; Rutecki and Blackmore 2016; see also the forthcoming *Historical Archaeology* volume on Queer Archaeology edited by Katrina Eichner and Erin Rodriguez).

Intersectionality. While many archaeological interpretations focus on single aspects of identity (like class, gender, or ethnicity) to the practical exclusion of others, Blackmore argues that a queer approach to identity is inherently intersectional, focusing on the social positionality, or composite of identities that make up an individual (Blackmore 2011:76-77). Although an understanding of intersectionality goes back at least to the nineteenth century (Truth 1851) and has also been described as "interlocking oppressions" (Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977; see also Jones 1949) the term was first used in print by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989). In short, intersectionality is the recognition that various axes of identity (gender, sex, class, race, etc.) influence and are influenced by each other. While historians have looked at, for example, the intersectional creation of gender and class (i.e. Flexner 1959; Kessler-Harris 2003, 2007; Ryan 1981; Stansell 1982) it has taken much longer to gain a foothold in archaeological research.

While understanding that different axes of identity influence each other is rather straightforward, doing intersectional analysis and interpretation to tease out these connections is the greatest challenge of intersectionality (see, for example, Sandoval 2000). Theorists and researchers, including Brown (1992), Spivak (1996), and Wylie (2008) have proposed ways to make an intersectional approach work. Elsa Barkley Brown (1992) proposes the inclusion of multiple narratives in interpretation; a "gumbo ya-ya" where everyone talks at once, telling their stories in connection and in dialogue with one another. In this context, it becomes important to control for unaccountable or competing narratives. As a solution, Alison Wylie advocates "integrity in scholarship," which entails being fair to the evidence and a methodological multivocality that brings

multiple sources of information to bear in deciding which voices weigh more heavily in the interpretation. In the context of excavations at Wiawaka, these multiple voices suggested by Brown and Wylie include the historical record, archaeological record, guests, organizers, volunteers, and myself as the epistemically entwined researcher. Also useful in working intersectionally is strategic essentialism, whereby diversity is explicitly and temporarily homogenized in order to achieve common goals or facilitate interpretation (Spivak 1996).

Archaeologists who have successfully done this kind of multivocal and intersectional work include Chelsea Blackmore's (2011) look at the Maya; Whitney Battle-Baptiste with her development of a Black feminist archaeology (2011, forthcoming); Barbara Voss (2008) in her work looking at the process of ethnogenesis in what is now California; Sandra Hollimon's (2000, 2009) work looking at two-spirit people in California; David Hyde's (2017) work among lime kiln workers in the Santa Cruz mountains of California; and in a very early application of multivocality, Janet Spector's (1993) work giving multiple interpretations of a sewing awl in a Wahpeton Dakota village. Archaeological work using queer theory that is in preparation and currently in peer review also takes explicitly intersectional approaches to interpretation.

Queer theorist Judith Butler (1990, 1993) challenged assumptions of gender as an essential, personal characteristic. Instead, she argued that gender is created communally: a reflexive and dynamic process that requires a performer, a performance, and an audience. The result (gender) changes according to context and audience. Recognizing

that gender identity and expression are not necessarily directly correlated, an individual may even perform a gender apart from their identity. Archaeologically, of course, we are limited to analysis of the physical remains of the past, and so generally will be looking at the physical expressions of gender, class, and race rather than the internal, unexpressed identities (for the impact of Butler on archaeological research, see Perry and Joyce 2001). In this work, I queer the analysis of gender, class, and race by expanding Judith Butler's performativity to include all of these axes of identity, and by looking at them through the lens of post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha's Third Space. That class as well as gender is a performance is clear when reading analyses of contemporary etiquette books (see, for example, Johnstone 1910; Kasson 1990).

Race is also deeply performative, as exemplified by African-American debates about respectability politics and how to relate to/distinguish from white society, and the simultaneous policing and appropriation of "Blackness" by whites (for early twentieth-century examples, see DuBois 1903; Higginbotham 1993; Rubenstein 1998; Washington 1899). Since the 1980s, archaeologists have studied how colonized peoples (Native Americans and Africans in particular) responded to colonization in ways that allowed their identities and cultures to survive and continue. These studies include those focusing on acculturation (Cusick 1998) and resistance (LaRoche 2004). Prior to the 1980s, colonized indigenous peoples were studied as though they were passive victims. More recent studies (Carney and Rosamoff 2010) have blurred the line between colonist and captive, native, and other colonized groups, exploring their mutual interrelatedness and

changing how we remember the past. Homi Bhabha (1994) deals directly with the idea of colonized and colonizer co-creating each other.

In 1999, Orser described the conflation by many archaeologists of race with ethnicity. The study of belonging to cultural groups (ethnicity), he argued, is very different from studying the structural dynamics of race and racism that create and uphold the social inequalities characteristic of American society (Orser 1999:662; see also Orser 2003, 2007). This conflation ignores race (including whiteness as a racial construct) and how racist beliefs shape identity and reflect power relationships, and focuses instead on ethnic identities (this may be seen as analogous to the split between feminist archaeology as politically engaged and gender archaeology as disconnected from political implications). By saying they are discussing race while really describing ethnic identities, archaeologists, he argues, are missing an opportunity to provide important new insights regarding the understanding of race and racism in America. In 2004, Epperson introduced critical race theory to historical archaeology as a framework for engaging politically with the issue of race. Like others working within a framework of social justice (McDavid 2007, 2010; Mullins 2007), he locates community-based alliances with common goals as sites where this work can flourish and be of greater social use. Barbara Voss' (2008) *Ethnogenesis* successfully examines how race and sexuality were manipulated and managed in the creation of a new ethnic identity in colonial (what is now) San Francisco.

In a lecture, Michel Foucault described the qualities of places he identified as heterotopias or "other spaces" (Foucault 1967). These are sites in which the relationships

generally understood to exist in society are “simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted” (Foucault 1967). Heterotopias complicate what he refers to as “real sites,” acting as mirrors that reflect society back on itself. The “real sites” or relationships being represented, contested, and inverted are those that frame people’s lives - “oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example between private space and public space … between the space of leisure and that of work” (Foucault 1967). In his discussion of the various characteristics of heterotopias, Foucault describes them as “capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible” (Foucault 1967). This simultaneous existence of several incompatible sites or states in a single iteration is an early description of what Gieseking (2016) refers to as trans theory (see below).

Wiawaka Holiday House is a heterotopia, where normally incompatible real sites (relationships between people, practices, and institutions) become juxtaposed and represented in ways that contest and challenge their “antagonistic images” and “polarities” (Bhabha 1994). These juxtapositions at Wiawaka include elites and working classes, labor and leisure, capitalism and charity, reform and control, and women-only space (unique in that the juxtaposition is with the absence of men from the site). These juxtapositions make these categories visible as variable and not inherently fixed. Wiawaka is not the only place for holidays that has been identified as a heterotopia. Kevin Murphy (2009) applied the concept to resort sites associated strictly with elites. What makes his examples heterotopias is that they were built as places of refuge for men and women who wanted to be apart from the heterosexual social rituals of resort life.

Although the specifics differ between the sites described by Murphy (2009) and Wiawaka, they are all purposeful creations of homosocial resort sites as places of refuge from the performance of heterosexuality. In Murphy's examples, this was because the builders were gay and lesbian; at Wiawaka, this protected the Girl Guests from immoral (premarital) sexual activity.

Homi Bhabha's (1994) idea of Third Space also makes the discursive and performative natures of class, gender, and race evident. In a "move that might be described as queering" (Hayes, Higgonet and Spurlin 2010:6), Bhabha's Third Space is a theoretical intervention that makes the discursive nature of antagonistic polarities evident. It reveals that categories, often considered and wielded in interpretations as natural or essential, are actually produced and maintained discursively, "side by side and in competition with each other" (Bhabha 1994:29; for a critique of Bhabha's use of dichotomous polarities, see Springate 2017b). These categories are created through mimicry and comparison. While comparison separates the categories, mimicry joins them; implicit in the performance is the mimicry of characteristics agreed upon to carry certain meanings, like "middle class," "female," and "middle class female." In the context of colonization, "there can be no colonizer or colonized prior to colonization, since both are created as subject positions by colonization itself" (Hayes, Higonnet, Spurlin 2010:6). Reading Bhabha through Butler, this mimicry "is always already defined in the comparison between some imagined, though never totally accessible, colonial original and its imperfect copy as performed by the colonized" (Hayes, Higonnet, Spurlin 2010:3). Political referents and assumptions, therefore, including class struggle, gender difference,

the colonized and colonizers, are constructed, and do not exist naturally; "the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity;… even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha 1994:25-26, 37). Not only does Bhabha allow these relationships to become visible, but by defining that place where identities are created (the Third Space) he provides a place of intervention, where these culturally assumed essential identities can be challenged and changed. It is by recognizing this point of interaction and intervention that Bhabha's Third Space becomes political, engaging with the present. Through the lens of Wiawaka Holiday House as a heterotopia and the intervention of Third Space, then, we can look at how identities, including class, gender, and race, are produced and maintained. Material culture is part of how identities are signified, embodied, performed; material remains, then, are part of the mediation between self and society (Blackmore 2011:79).

Capitalism

Capitalism is a set of social relations where people in a workforce sell their labor to capitalists in order to earn a living; the capitalists take that labor and make profit. Using the labor of the workforce, capitalists turn resources (like land, raw materials, money, etc. – all of which are owned privately) into products which are sold. After the costs of resources are covered (labor, raw materials, etc.), the remaining money is profit. Because the goal of capitalism is the creation of profit, new efficiencies in production and expanding markets for customers and resources are constantly being sought (Leone 1999:4). The social stratification between the laborers who create the profit and the capitalists who reap it is a necessary feature of the capitalist system, and is the location of

an antagonistic and constantly shifting relationship. In common parlance, we refer to this social stratification as class. Because the accumulation of wealth (profit) is localized in the upper, capitalist class along with the ownership of resources, this group holds a considerable amount of power and control in how wealth is produced – which in turn affects the lives of the workers, who are limited by the jobs available, wage rates, hours worked, etc. Capitalists maximize profit in part by paying as little as possible to laborers; in other words, it is based on the purposeful creation and maintenance of poverty (Leone and Potter 1999:vii).

Capitalism and Respectability

Buoying up the capitalist system is the ideology that convinces many "that their lives are stable, and hopeful, and that work and opportunity can yield an improved lot in a rational world where leaders are often thought to have the common good in mind" (Leone and Potter 1999:vii). This ideology is behind ideas of "worthy" and "unworthy" poor – the "worthy" are those who, through no perceived fault of their own (illness, death of a spouse, etc.) are poor; they are "worthy" of receiving assistance such as charity. The "unworthy" are those who do not conform to a capitalist ideology: they are those who choose not to work or choose not to work at a "respectable" job (i.e. sex workers are considered "unworthy"); they may drink; or be slovenly. They are perceived as lazy or that there is something "wrong" with them, that they are not working to improve their lot (for how this plays out in reform settings, see for example, Carstairs 2017; Spencer-Wood and Blackburn 2017; Thomas 2017; for a discussion of how worthy/unworthy dictates around class and gender behavior also play out, see Finch 1993, Nead 1988, and

Skeggs 1997, 2010). In American capitalism, this ideology is the basis of the American Dream: that by working hard enough, anyone can succeed and become successful and wealthy. The flip side of this, of course, is that any failure to succeed (measured against white middle class standards) must, therefore, be due to laziness or other moral failing (the "unworthy" poor) or some inherent inability (the "worthy" poor). Success is performed by embodying respectability which, as mentioned above, is not just about respectable behavior, but perhaps even more so, having respectable things. Respectability is tied up with identity, which is materialized in the marketplace: "through the acquisition of commodities we can become who we believe we really are" (Nassaney 2010:ix-x). In other words, we buy who we think we are; our consumer choices both reflect and determine our identities. Respectability and respectability politics are the embodiment of capitalist ideology.

Between the late nineteenth century (represented by the Crosbyside assemblage) and the late 1910s and 1920s (represented by the Wiawaka assemblage), the flavor of capitalism in the United States shifted from industrial capitalism to consumer capitalism. Industrial capitalism, which developed with the Industrial Revolution, focused on creating wealth through the industrial manufacture of goods. Profit was created by the sale of these goods predominantly to the wealthy and the managerial middle class which itself was a product of the Industrial Revolution. At the turn of the twentieth century, capitalists turned to the working classes as an expanded market for goods. Advertising companies began to flourish during this period, creating demand for products (and the products themselves) that had not previously existed. Identities during this period became thoroughly

commoditized, with advertisers both profiting from and shaping the market (Ewen 2001; Marchand 2008; Peiss 1998; Roller 2015b).

The middle class developed during the nineteenth century with the industrialization of North America, which also was characterized by increasing numbers of people moving away from their families and the places where they grew up to find jobs in the industrializing cities. Moving to the cities and surrounded by strangers, it became important to display social status through means such as dress, manners, and language and to be able to read the social cues of others. The new middle class invented itself during this period, forging a new status category and defining the social expression of that status in ways that distinguished its members from others. Indeed, respectability was a central mechanism to defining and creating classes and their relationships to each other (Skeggs 1997:3). Flourishing into the mid- and late-nineteenth century were handbooks and manuals providing guidance for appropriate middle class behavior, manners, dress, and social interaction; these also encouraged the ownership of the material requirements for middle class respectability (like tea services), and the proper know-how of using them (Clements 2003; Halttunen 1982; Kasson 1990; Nassaney 2010:xi). Halttunen (1982) argues that the maintenance of these boundaries between classes kept society functioning and out of chaos.

The separation of individuals from family and community – both by those moving to urban areas from their rural homes and those immigrating to American cities from overseas – was the impetus for middle class women to found groups like the Girls'

Friendly Society, under whose auspices Wiawaka Holiday House was founded in 1903. The GFS, the YWCA, settlement houses, and other groups offered resources to the flood of single women moving into cities. These included residences, classes, and appropriate companionship, all serving as places where young women could find "safety" from the evils of the city, defined at the time as idleness, sexual activity, factory work, rape, and crime (Alexander 1995; Hinchliffe and Smith 2012; Kunzel 1993; Murolo 1997). Some of these, like rape and being the victims of crime, were real concerns for women living in cities, particularly those with no support systems. Others, like idleness, factory work, and sexual activity, were activities that violated middle class ideals of appropriate, respectable behavior – ideals that were not necessarily shared by the working classes (Enstad 1999; Matthews 2010:110; Peiss 1986, 1989; 1998; for a discussion into the 1950s, see Littauer 2015).

As noted above in the discussion of "worthy" versus "unworthy" poor, ideas about respectability are embedded in capitalism. Indeed, Engels described respectability as "a false consciousness bred into the bones of the workers" (1953:522-523, cited in Skeggs 1997:3). Specifically, white middle class ideas of behavior, dress, speech and other aspects of identity are transformed by capitalism into societal ideals of appropriate behavior, and people are judged accordingly. "Respectability," writes Beverley Skeggs,

> is one of the most ubiquitous signifiers of class. It informs how we speak, who we speak to, how we classify others…and how we know who we are (or are not). Respectability would not be of concern here if the working classes…had not consistently been classified as dangerous, polluting, threatening, revolutionary, pathological and without respect. It would not be something to desire, to prove and to achieve, if it had not been seen to be a property of 'others,' those who were valued and legitimated. (1997:1)

White middle class ideals of respectability and appropriate behavior are seen in the assemblages from both Wiawaka Holiday House and the Crosbyside Hotel, including artifacts representing appropriate dress, behavior, and material surroundings associated with industrial capitalism (see Chapter 4). At the turn of the twentieth century, we see reformers, particularly women reformers, extending the idea of white middle class respectability on to working class populations. Respectability brought with it the promise of a better life; the promise of upward mobility; the way to the American Dream. It is, in fact, one of the key embodiments of the ideology that mystifies the workings and damages of the capitalist system. Without question, many reformers who worked to uplift the working classes did so out of a genuine desire to improve their lot; to connect and learn from them; and to "rescue" them. Just as unquestionably, working class women also judged themselves as respectable or "rough," with large numbers of working women taking advantage of the middle class reform project (Skeggs 1997:3; Stacey et al. 1975).

Respectability recreates and polices itself, allowing capitalism to thrive and be reproduced. Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner (1980) argue that the dominant (middle class) ideology of capitalism serves primarily to integrate the middle classes into the system, and that subordinate (working) classes have their own ideologies (Leone and Potter 1988:372; McGuire 1988). I argue that, while this is true, it is also true that many working class people aspiring to a better life literally "buy in to" middle class respectability. With respectability comes social value and legitimacy, and so, it became a locus of the consumer capitalism of the twentieth century, leveraged with great success by the advertising agencies to create new markets for their products including toiletries

and cosmetics (Skeggs 1997:3). These processes are visible in the 1920s artifacts associated with Wiawaka Holiday House.

Respectability Politics. The idea of respectability politics is a concept first articulated by Evelyn Higginbotham (1993) in the context of Black civil rights work by Baptist women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It describes the self-policing of marginalized groups to enforce social values compatible with mainstream values (assimilation) as a strategy for acceptance, rather than challenging the mainstream's failure to embrace difference. From the perspective of the oppressed and marginalized groups -- in this case Black women -- emphasizing manners and morals as a means to uplift the Black race was a form of resistance, a counter-narrative to the racist discourses that portrayed African Americans as savage, stupid, unmannered, and inferior (White 2001:14-15, 36). White (2001:14-15) is critical of how narrow the definition of Black respectability was (and continues to be), and argues that by excluding (for example) LGBTQ African Americans and homeless African Americans, respectability politics does not live up to its promised potential. Yet, the ideals of respectable manners and morals come directly from white middle class America: to be respectable in America – by definition, white America (per Baldwin), you have to mimic white middle classness: ethically, morally, behaviorally, and materially. Higginbotham writes, "The Baptist women spoke as if ever-cognizant of the gaze of white America, which in panoptic fashion focuses perpetually upon each and every black person and recorded his or her transgressions in an overall accounting of black inferiority" (1993:196).

Respectability politics is not limited to African Americans and is most certainly not relegated to the past. Respectability politics have been and continue to be leveraged in class relationships (including in continuing debates about who "deserves" social services – see, for example, Collins 2000:80-81; MacGillis and Propublica 2016; Misra 2015), in marginalizing women (perhaps most visible in discussions of rape that blame women for how they dressed/behaved/where they were), and in the pursuit of LGBTQ rights (see, for example, Vaid 2012). Different groups have different access to the ways in which respectability is generated, displayed, and resisted (Skeggs 1997:2; 2010).

Regardless of the context(s), there are several characteristics of respectability politics (primarily from Higginbotham 1993 and summarized in contemporary terms by Young 2016):

- Respectability politics is seated in the power relationships of capitalism, and therefore societal ideals of respectability are ultimately dictated by those in power – regardless of whether it is imposed or promoted by middle-class reformers or conceived as a counter-narrative or alternative (Matthews 2010:110).
- "Disrespectful" behavior by members of oppressed groups is always perceived and judged as representative of the whole group.
- Respectability politics shifts responsibility from the perpetrators to the victims: rape victims are blamed for being raped; African Americans are blamed for being shot by police; transgender women are blamed for their own murders, etc.
- Respectability politics creates a false sense of security for those who believe in it: "As we've seen time and time and time and time and time and time and time and

time again, nothing – not a master's degree, not a Maserati, not a white wife named Molly – can prevent a black person from being treated like a black person when his or her number is called. But believing that acting a certain way can and will prevent it….is dangerous. And could end your life" (Young 2016).

- Respectability politics doesn't work. Although it promises the rewards of the group in power, it never delivers: "….just asking nicely through the prescribed channels of reform [is]…at the best of times hopeful" (Edmonds 2016). Chris Matthews notes, "…the presumed rejection of their ethnic background… was contradictory to the reality that most immigrants faced when seeking work. The ethnic division of labor largely restricted cultural assimilation for immigrants in the labor market" (2010:109).
- It is a no-win, damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't system: those who reject respectability politics are ostracized and often targeted for surveillance – by members of their own community and/or the state.

Several authors have addressed the cost of assimilationist respectability politics. White (2001) identifies the exclusion of LGBTQ and homeless African Americans as a failure of Black respectability politics. Urvashi Vaid (2012), Heather Love (2007), and Melinda Chateauvert (2013) argue that the exclusion or leaving behind of those who do not "fit in" does not lead to actual advances in civil rights. Indeed, Love describes respectability politics as deeply coercive and discriminatory, an irony perhaps of the bleakest kind when wielded in the pursuit of civil rights. Although framed in the context of LGBTQ civil rights, her argument stands in all instances of respectability politics:

> "Advances," such as gay marriage and the increasing media visibility of well-heeled gays and lesbians threatens to obscure the continuing denigration and dismissal of queer existence….Given the new opportunities available to *some* gays and lesbians, the temptation is to forget—to forget the outrages and humiliations of gay and lesbian history and to ignore the ongoing suffering of those not borne up by the rising tide of gay normalization—is stronger than ever (Love 2007:10).

Black Lives Matter is an example of a current liberation movement that rejects respectability politics. Their mandate is that ALL Black lives matter, including those of women, the working class, queer, disabled, transgender, and others, and in opposition to the African American respectability politics that holds people to white middle class standards, proclaims themselves unapologetically Black (Black Lives Matter 2017; Edmonds 2016).

Capitalism and Leisure

By the late nineteenth century, the vacation had become a well-established part of middle-class America (Aron 1999), and therefore a virtual requisite embodiment of the capitalist American Dream. Indeed, by the 1920s, the "Vacation habit" had spread to the working classes (see Chapter 2). Traditional histories of American resorts and leisure describe them in terms of the experiences of white, male elites and the upper-middle class (Carson 1994; MacCannell 1976; Sears 1989; Terrie 1997; Urry 2002). These narratives weave together themes of tourism as consumption (of nature, of leisure, of opportunities for networking or self-improvement); the link between tourism and resorts, conspicuous consumption, and capitalism (itself both forming and formed by the middle classes and elites); and the eventual inclusion of the lower classes in the performance of this example of all-American capitalist consumption, made possible in part by expanding

transportation networks, which both fed the creation of capitalism and were the servants of it. This extension of the vacation habit to the working classes has, in the tradition of capitalist ideology that defines white middle class behavior as "all-American," been referred to as the "democratization" of tourism. Only a handful of authors include the leisure experiences of women, the working classes, and those who were not white (Aron 1999; Peiss 1986). Recent work – by historians, archaeologists, and sociologists -- addresses the labor of leisure: the work that goes on behind the scenes to create the leisure experiences of guests (Adler and Adler 1999, 2004; Armstead 1999; Berger 2011:177-216; Camp 2011; O'Donovan 2011; O'Donovan and Carroll 2011; Sinclair 1997; Sterngass 2001; Wurst 2011). These examples, however, are scattered; there is no historic context for the labor of leisure and it remains largely hidden (Wurst 2011:255).

Studying the labor of leisure goes beyond merely filling out an understudied part of the American experience; it exposes the workings of capitalism itself. In their introduction to a recent volume on the archaeology of travel and tourism, Maria O'Donovan and Lynda Carroll wrote,

> Consumption and leisure tend to dominate concepts of tourism. They… are generally viewed in opposition to production and work but … opposition and dichotomy only reproduce capitalist ideology. Once beyond the glitz of the tourist veneer, we can see the labor of leisure, its role in creating productive landscapes and relations, and its general connections to capitalist formation and ideology (O'Donovan and Carroll 2011:192)

Unlike at other resorts and hotels (including the Crosbyside Hotel), the relationship between labor and leisure at Wiawaka was only partially hidden or mystified. The relationship between leisure, work, and moral value was explicitly part of Wiawaka's

ideology. Guests were expected to perform work at Wiawaka – something not done at more traditional hotels or resorts. “Work,” wrote Katrina Trask in describing the ideology of Wiawaka, “is the criterion of character. It makes no difference what that work is, whether it is making shirts, making collars, writing books, sweeping the floor… or painting pictures – so long as it is well done” (Figure 2; transcribed in Springate 2011). Girl Guests were expected to help out at Wiawaka – they served tea, helped at the dairy farm and in the garden as well as partaking in structured leisure activities including walks, pageants, and boat rides. They consumed nature, health, and directed self-improvement as part of their leisure but were also explicitly the producers both of their own vacation and leisure experiences and those of other guests who labored at writing books or painting pictures (Katrina Trask authored several books and Georgia O’Keeffe painted on the property in 1908; *American Art News* 1908). The connections between leisure, labor, and capitalism are also explicit at Wiawaka: while the stated mission of the site was to provide factory girls an affordable vacation, the site itself was founded and managed by the wives and daughters of wealthy industrialists, some of whom -- including Cluetts and Peabodys -- owned the very companies from which the Girl Guests needed respite (Figure 3).

Capitalism and Reform

As noted above, one of the themes of working-class reform efforts, particularly those by women reformers, was to extend white, middle-class respectability to the working classes (Matthews 2010:110). At its very basic level, reform is about change – change that carries with it the implication of an improvement ranging from the personal to the social

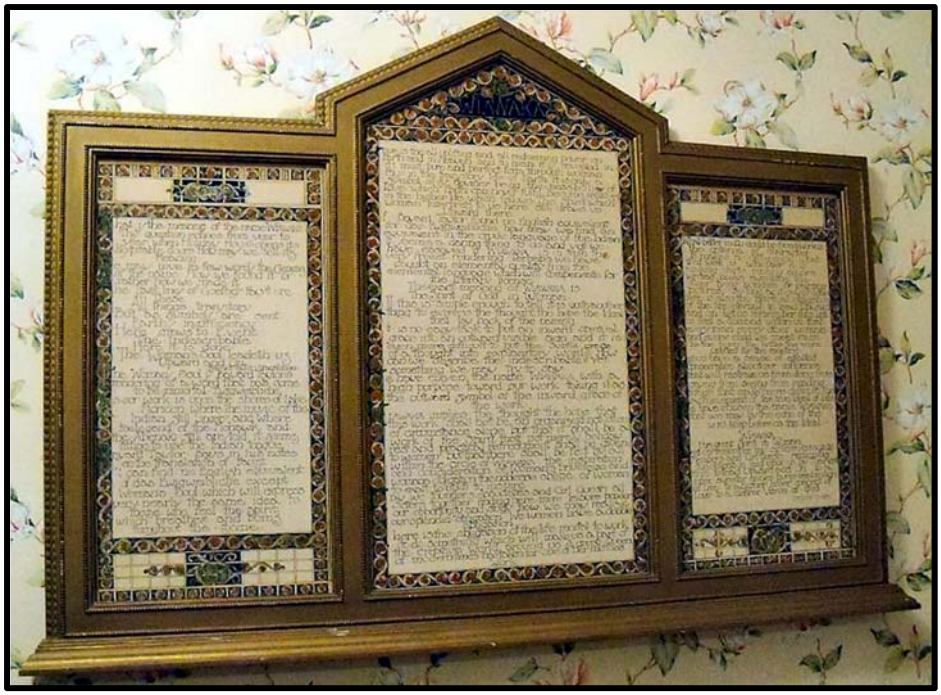

Figure 2: Calligraphic triptych on the meaning of Wiawaka, by Katrina Trask. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 3: Women working at Cluett, Peabody & Co., Troy, New York, ca. 1890. Collections of the Rensselaer County Historical Society.

and institutional. As a noun, reform is the "amendment of what is defective, vicious, corrupt, or depraved;" as a verb, reform is to "put into a new and improved form or condition; to restore to a former good state, or bring from bad to good; to change from worse to better; to amend; to correct" (Webster and Porter 1913). Unlike revolution, which has connotations of rapid, wholesale change, reform is generally understood to be a gradual process that improves, rather than overthrows, the status quo (Springate 2017a).

The modern idea of reform is deeply rooted in the social changes that accompanied capitalism, the industrial revolution, the development of the middle class, and, with its origins in England, colonialism. The idea of political reform and reformers had existed for many centuries in England before 1780, but it was during Christopher Wyvill's Association movement championing, among other things, the equalization of parliamentary representation, that the modern idea of reform first gained traction (Innes 2003:71). While the concept waxed and waned over the next decades, the idea of reform as positive social change persisted (Innes 2003).

Reform movements in the United States were also rooted in social changes brought on by industrialization, the development of the middle class, and colonialism. They ranged from early struggles for women's suffrage and religious reforms of the mid-nineteenth century to the many and varied social reform movements of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century Progressive Era (Berkin 2011). This era is defined by its response to the Gilded Age, the period in American history characterized by dramatic exploitation of the working classes by robber barons and captains of industry who drove and profited

from urban, corporate industrialization. And, who in turn, lived like American royalty (see, for example, Berger 2005; Craven 2009; Visit Adirondacks 2017). Reforms of the Progressive Era included labor laws, a minimum wage, limitations on child labor, women's suffrage, education reforms, health reforms, and the development of social programs (Addams and Brown 1999:35). Jane Addams, co-founder of Hull House, saw her work as necessary to democracy: "the very existence of the state depends on the character of its citizens" (Addams and Brown 1999:135) she argued, insisting that all citizens, including immigrants and the working classes be "equipped, materially and spiritually for participation in the democratic dialogue" (Addams and Brown 1999:35).

Scholars of the Progressive Era examining the motivations of the era's largely middle class reformers have focused on the middle-class as protective of their social status in the face of increasing working-class power and immigration (McGerr 2003); others see reformers as working with benevolent intent, like connecting isolated individuals and communities with the modern world (Weibe 1967) and improving people's lives by supporting democracy and social welfare (Addams and Brown 1999:31-32; Muncy 1991). In reality, however, many reform projects and reformers had multiple motivations. Those running soup kitchens, for example, "were usually motivated by a combination of piety, humanitarianism, utilitarianism, and probably self-interest (preventing unrest, ensuring a good supply of cheap labor, reinforcing the social hierarchy, or enhancing one's social standing)… [And yet,] these explanations underestimate the complexity of people's motives" (Carstairs 2017).

Not coincidentally, the transition from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Era coincides with the shift from industrial to consumer capitalism. “Material culture,” writes Matthews, “was a focus of middle-class reformers, for they envisioned that proper etiquette at the dining table and in the parlor revealed internal qualities based in the recognition and respect of oneself and others” (2010:111). Etiquette, a manifestation of respectability, was both having the right things and knowing how to use them. For example, etiquette books go into great detail about proper table settings for different types of meals and gatherings, as well as how to “properly” hold and use the various pieces of cutlery (Clements 2003; Kasson 1990; Shackel 1993; Symonds 2010). Etiquette instruction persists, both in popular media (Dear Abby, Miss Manners, Hints from Heloise, and Dan Savage) and in more formal, published presentations (see, for example, Ager and St. Aubyn 1980; Eding 2014; Ferry 2008).

Although the “zeal” of the Progressive Era for social action and social reform projects generally ceased when America entered World War I in 1917 (Addams and Brown 1999:38), certain reform era projects, like Wiawaka Holiday House, persisted, as did publications and advertisements promoting respectability.

Avenues of Inquiry

Excavations at Wiawaka have provided the opportunity to explore several broad areas of archaeological inquiry, as well as several site-specific questions. The broader questions, which underpin much of the interpretation of the deposits, have to do with the negotiation and maintenance of personal and social identities – in this case, race, class, and gender;

the unseen labor of leisure that makes vacations possible; the different experiences of working and middle class women at Wiawaka, and changes in mission and ideology at the site over time. While I use the terms "middle class" and "working class," I do so because those were the categories used historically to describe the women associated with Wiawaka and other holiday houses. In my analysis, however, I explore how these categories are formed in relationship to each other and other identities.

This analysis focuses on the ceramics, glass, and personal artifacts assemblages from the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House. The documentary record tells us that Crosbyside was a mixed-gender, middle-class vacation resort, while Wiawaka was predominantly women-only (a male caretaker lived on-site, but physically separated from the main activity areas). What do the material and documentary records tell us about personal identities – specifically race, class, and gender – during these periods, particularly as they relate to the making of the Modern American woman in the 1910s and 1920s (newly enfranchised, entering the job market, politics, and government in increasing numbers, and redefining what marriage, motherhood, and "womanliness" meant; National Humanities Center 2012)? What do they tell us about how different groups of people spent their vacation time? How do we distinguish the labor of leisure from leisure in these assemblages, and how does the labor of leisure differ at Crosbyside and at Wiawaka? What were the experiences of the guests at Crosbyside and at Wiawaka? Were the experiences of the working class and middle class women at Wiawaka different? What do the artifacts recovered reveal about changes in mission, ideology, and/or visitors over time on the property? Can these changes be linked to

societal shifts? What is the role of various identities in the formation and performance of these ideologies? What are the power relationships inherent in these ideologies, and how to we see them in the materialities of the site? Throughout my interpretation I will be using the Third Space/performative queered approach to each of these, using an intersectional lens.

In addition to asking these questions, recognizing that the past is used in the present and that archaeology is therefore inherently political, I framed my excavations at Wiawaka Holiday House as an explicitly feminist project committed to community engagement and fostering public education about archaeology, but also about how gender is essentialized, performed and enforced intersectionally; how interpretations and understandings of past gender, sexuality, and class are used politically to enforce and reinforce current society; and to engage with people about how our knowledge of the past is created.

Certainly, my identities and life experiences have colored my research interests and questions, particularly looking at questions of gender and studying those who are often overlooked or marginalized. I am a gender-queer identifying, slightly masculine-of-center presenting, white, middle-class, middle-aged queer woman who is both a first generation Canadian and a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Challenges

Perhaps the greatest challenge in using archaeological evidence to explore the day-to-day experiences of visitors – both at Crosbyside and at Wiawaka – is that most of it will reflect the choices and ideologies of the owners and organizers. It is, after all, these people that decided on and provided most of the material culture: room decorations, tablewares, food, games, etc. Personal artifacts like jewelry, buttons, hair pins, and toiletries that were dropped, lost, or discarded were the sources of information about the guests. Also of interest was whether material evidence reflecting paid staff at both Crosbyside and Wiawaka can be identified. Because of similarities in circumstance (where much of what individuals experience is provided for them), archaeological literature describing the experiences of hotel and resort guests and laborers, boarding house guests, and describing the experiences of asylum, prison, and other institutional inmates is consulted (Camp 2011; Casella 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2001; De Cunzo 2001; Mahoney 2004; Myers 2008; O'Donovan and Carroll 2011; Peña and Denmon 2000; Sharffenberg 2011; Spencer-Wood and Baugher 2001; Wurst 2011).

The voices of visitors are largely absent from the documentary record. For the Crosbyside, a middle-class resort, there does exist fairly extensive advertising copy, as well as society reports in various newspapers and news coverage of various events (see, for example, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1897, 1900; *New York Times* 1871, 1903; *New York Tribune* 1908; Stoddard 1873, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904). At least two letters exist: one written by William Lloyd Garrison, describing his stay at the Crosbyside in the 1870s (Garrison 1874) and one written by Alexander Graham Bell in 1891 describing a

professional meeting at the hotel (Bell 1891). The situation for the guests at Wiawaka Holiday House, however, is more of a challenge. A single postcard from a guest at Wiawaka from 1936 exists, though it contains little information (author's collection). Although the archives of Wiawaka survive largely intact, they reflect the running of the site, and not the experiences of the guests (though there are occasionally hints in the reports to the Board of Directors). The challenge of inferring the motivations, feelings, and meanings of working class women through the writings of middle-class reformers is one that all researchers of the working classes face. In particular, writings by the middle class reformers usually extoll the successes of their endeavors. Those letters that do survive in the archives are usually "bread and butter" thank you letters – a form of correspondence tied to middle-class respectability that help ensure a guest will be invited back (Aron 1999:192; Johnstone 1920; Peiss 1989:57-58). On the other hand is the opposite side of the propaganda coin: the short story, "The Free Vacation House" by Anzia Yezierska (1920) describes a thoroughly demeaning, exploitative, and horrible experience, one that makes the narrator glad to return to their life of poverty. Somewhere between these extremes lie the realities.

Working intersectionally is also a challenge. Just as capitalism is many things at once, so too are identities. The importance of working intersectionally at Wiawaka is not just to understand how different identities co-create each other in the context of capitalism. Recognizing that telling stories (including archaeological interpretation) is an act of power, working intersectionally also helps to ensure that this research recognizes the multiple identities and stories of the people who lived, worked, and visited the Wiawaka

property. A single story is dangerous, because a single story can be wielded like a weapon or used to create injustice (Adichie 2009). Just as intersectionality is about multidimensional power relationships, telling stories is also about power: "It is impossible to talk about the single story without talking about power… How they are told, who tells them, when they're told, how many stories are told, are really dependent on power. Power is the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person" (Adichie 2009).

Resolving Contradictions

In considering the many-layered issues at play in interpreting the archaeology at Wiawaka, I found myself thinking about the contradictions deeply embedded in all of them. Of the middle-class women who believed they were doing good by teaching working women how to behave like "respectable" middle-class women and of the violence of respectability politics; of the people who worked to make leisure for others possible, often without being able to take the same kinds of leisure time for themselves; of the impassable chasm between classes that the American Dream ideology tells us is easily traversed; of all the people working, consuming, and acting within in a strong capitalist system with pervasive ideologies.

A conversation with a colleague in geography introduced me to an expanded idea of trans theory. Rooted in feminist and queer theories, transgender theory has been used as a way of understanding the lives, identities, and experiences of transgender people (Klimczuk and Bienkowska 2016; Nagoshi and Brzuzy 2010; Stryker 2004). Just as queer theory

once focused on looking for evidence of homosexuality and challenging heteronormative histories but is now being used more broadly as a way of challenging all kinds of normative assumptions (i.e. Blackmore 2011; Croucher 2005:611; Rutecki and Blackmore 2016) Gieseking is reconceptualizing trans theory as an intervention that, in part, allows often contradictory multitudes to coexist, all at once, in a single context (Gieseking 2016). These contradictions do not, I argue, need to be resolved; and in fact, should not be. In 1990, Patricia Hill Collins described the both/and lives of African American women, who simultaneously occupied identities thought to be oppositional, such as objective and subjective; mother and scholar; Afrocentric and feminist. Trans theory lets situations be other than either/or and more than both/and; they can be both good and bad, empowering and exploitative, and they can hold more than two possibilities. While intersectionality recognizes that how a person identifies and how the world interacts with them is based on multiple facets, trans theory, I argue, allows multiple identities that are often considered oppositional to be held in tandem: it is, for example, possible to be male and female or neither. It also allows multitudes of situations to be held simultaneously: good, bad, and neutral; positive, negative, and neutral. By holding these multitudes, instead of resolving them, the complexities of situations become visible; seemingly contradictory behaviors and choices become intelligible; and the underlying workings of capitalism (in this case) become apparent. Working from a trans perspective, then, the contradictions and multitudes that are inherent in the processes and systems and histories presented here will not be resolved, but allowed to exist in conversation with each other.

The first step to understanding the contexts of both the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House is to look at the development of the vacation as middle class and working class pursuits, and at the development of lodging away from home. In Chapter Two, I explore the Vacation Habit.

Chapter 2: The Vacation Habit: An Overview of Resorts and Holiday Houses

> The vacation habit brings the city dweller back to nature, back to that contact with the soil without which is no permanent health. Everything, from kings to cabbages, needs a root in the soil somewhere. (Hutchinson 1912:35)

The history of leisure time and activities is heavily tied to class, as only those with the resources (including time, transportation, and money) are able to take time away from making a living. This chapter traces the history of what came to be called, at the turn of the twentieth century, "the vacation habit": the development of a regular week or two-week long period of time away from work, during which people would travel away from home for leisure time (Burroughs 1908; Hutchinson 1912; Matthews 1903; Schulte 1993). In her dissertation, Schulte (1993) focuses on the creation of summer communities, places where people of like mind and background would vacation together in a cluster of seasonal residences. She describes how people leveraged their familial and social networks to ensure that their vacation communities were made up of others like themselves, and how "undesirable" people were excluded. These formation and policing processes, described by Schulte (1993) for communities, also served to shape the clientele of certain hotels and resorts, including those at Crosbyside and at Wiawaka.

The roots of places people stay when away from home goes back to colonial American inns and taverns where, unless there were multiple options as in large cities, all travelers stayed together regardless of social standing. At the turn of the nineteenth century, hotels were introduced to America, and lodging – for business and leisure – has been deeply shaped by class and gender ever since. This chapter begins with a brief history of the

hotel in America, and transitions to a history of "the vacation habit" and the labor of leisure (specifically in this case, those who work in the hotels and resorts that make vacations possible for the visitors). Summaries of hotel and resort archaeology will be provided, and in Chapter 3, the specific history of Lake George and the Wiawaka Holiday House property will be explored in light of this broader context.

A Brief History of the Hotel

Vacation resorts and hotels trace their history back to colonial taverns and inns.[2] These served multiple purposes within communities: as lodging for travelers, restaurants, meeting places, places to get information, talk politics, and in some towns, to attend court. They were brought to America by European colonists. In England, there were legal distinctions between inns (required to be open at all times to receive overnight guests and to serve meals; forbidden from allowing habitual drinking) and taverns (which were forbidden from having overnight guests, could not serve full meals, and could only be open certain hours). Both inns and taverns required operating licenses – as did inns and taverns (also called ordinaries and public houses) in the United States. In the US, however, the terms inn and tavern were used interchangeably (Demer 2005:23; Sandoval-Strausz 2007:15). American inns and taverns were generally open around the clock, had rooms for lodging, served meals, and had taprooms or barrooms for drinking (Demer 2005:23).

[2] This recaps a brief history of American taverns and hotels presented in a site report (Springate, Tomkins, and Lore 2008).

Colonial and early Federal taverns, particularly those located outside of large cities like New York and Philadelphia, were relatively small, and were laid out very much like domestic dwellings. Meals offered were often limited by what was locally available, and the lodging fee paid only for a place to sleep – not necessarily private quarters. Eighteenth century travelogues regularly describe shared rooms and even shared beds (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:17-19). In urban areas, where there were multiple taverns or inns, guests might choose which to patronize based on price or reputation; on the road, however, travelers of all means stayed, ate, and drank together. Taverns were unwelcome places for women, particularly if they considered themselves women of quality, and women rarely traveled unaccompanied by male family members or friends (Rice 1983:21, 75; Sandoval-Strausz 2007:34). The clientele for food and lodging was predominantly men, with women in taverns generally working as servers or as objects of male sexual attraction. Although there were women who owned and operated taverns in colonial and early America, these were generally widows who, out of economic necessity, had become tavern keepers following the death of their husbands. Some historians have suggested that granting tavern licenses to widows was one way of keeping them out of debtors' prison (Rice 1983:21, 49-56).

Hotels, already established as a type of lodging in Europe, were introduced to America in the late eighteenth century. The cornerstone of the Union Public Hotel in Washington, DC – the first hotel in the United States -- was laid in 1793. This new type of lodging spread quickly; later that same year, a group of merchants purchased the City Tavern in New York City, and demolished it, replacing the most prestigious public house in New

York City with the City Hotel (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:23-24). The word *hotel* comes from France, where the word referred to a large official building like a city hall, or to the residence of a nobleman (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:6). The source of the word, and the replacement of the City Tavern by the City Hotel mark the differences between taverns and hotels. While tavern goers were obliged to share meals and accommodations with a random assortment of travelers, regardless of social class, hotels offered "respectable" travelers more space, privacy, and propriety (Thompson 1999:154). Respectable women were welcome to stay in hotels, where private bedchambers and privacy were available. Several hotels provided parlors specifically for the use of female guests to both socialize and to be seen (Brucken 1996; Sandoval-Strausz 2007:34-35):

> The elegant décor of hotel interiors signaled that they were intended only for those who were appropriately attired, groomed, and mannered… Within the hotel, social discord was dealt with through spatial separation. Different groups of people, whether divided by class or by clique, could simply occupy different spaces… The availability of multiple parlors, meeting halls, ballrooms, coffee rooms, and bars allowed for compartmentalized public sociability…. A similar principle was at work in the sleeping areas of the hotel: its private bedchambers shielded guests against strangers or other objectionable people who might otherwise have shared their rooms or beds. (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:36).

Hotels, then, became the middle- and upper-class lodging of choice when traveling and opened up travel opportunities for women (for a discussion of how hotels evolved and changed into the twentieth century, see Davidson 2005). Taverns retained their importance as community centers, particularly in working class neighborhoods, well into the twentieth century (Gottlieb 1957; Rice 1983:21).

Vacation Resorts and the Vacation Habit

The traditional and dominant narrative of the history of American resorts, vacations, and leisure describes them in terms of the experiences of the elite and the upper-middle classes (see, for example, Carson 1994; MacCannell 1976; Schulte 1993; Sears 1989; Urry 2002). The major themes woven together in this master narrative are: tourism as consumption (of nature, of leisure, of opportunities for networking or self-improvement); the link between tourism and resorts, conspicuous consumption, and capitalism (itself both forming and formed by the middle classes and elites); and the eventual democratization of tourism and resulting inclusion of the lower classes in the performance of this all-American capitalist consumption, made possible in part by expanding transportation networks (which both fed the creation of capitalism and were the servants of it). Indeed, much of the history of tourism in the Adirondacks, including the area around what is now the Village of Lake George and Wiawaka (presented in Chapter 3) follows this narrative.

This traditional narrative normalizes the experiences of the white, male, middle class – perhaps not surprising, since the vacation habit was established and pursued almost entirely by white, middle class men (Burroughs 1908; Hutchinson 1912; Matthews 1903). Even when working class people, women, and people of color are mentioned, they are mentioned in passing and often as an endorsement of the ubiquity of vacationing enjoyed by "all classes and conditions of men" (Hungerford 1891, quoted in Nasaw 1999:63). Works like Cindy Aron's (1999) *Working At Play* expand the discussion to explicitly include the experiences of women, the working class, and to some extent those who were

not white. Other historians, including Kathy Peiss (1986) in her book, *Cheap Amusements* look specifically at the leisure and tourism experiences of working women; Nan Enstad (1999) in *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure* also touches on this history. In her dissertation, "Summer Homes: A History of Family Summer Vacation Communities in Northern New England, 1880-1949" Janet Schulte (1993) breaks new ground in the study of resort communities by describing the ways that residents purposefully include people who are like them through a closed network of family and friends, and exclude others through bylaws and property covenants.

Vacationing was not new to those with money who were untethered from the need to labor for pay, and there is a long history of elites traveling away from the cities in the summers – to summer homes or to foreign lands for leisure and/or learning. As the middle class expanded, many became able to save up enough money to travel away from work in the summers. Indeed, vacationing – especially in nature – began to be seen as a necessary break:

> Supporters of the vacation habit usually pointed out the physical and mental benefits of vacationing: the healing powers of sea or mountain air, the escape from the overstimulation of work and social life (what would now be termed stress), from the 'rush and whirl and anxious haste' of the city (Brown 1998:79-80).

Hotel resorts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were located in natural areas, near rivers, seashores, or lakes to take advantage of the healing properties of nature. Verandahs – also known as porches or piazzas – were ubiquitous. Built to frame the most scenic view for visitors, verandahs provided guests the benefits of nature, without them having to be fully exposed or immersed in it. Verandahs also mediated

between the inside and outside world and connected the natural surroundings to the social activity of the hotel (Blackmar and Cromley 1982:51-53). Verandahs carried with them the architectural language of southern domestic hospitality: "The rocking chairs and porch rails, healthy breezes and adjacent lawn conjured up the serenity and safety of the extended and watchful family and neighborhood. As such the verandah represented the social domain of… the middle class who could afford single family houses with porches and lawns (rather than stoops and streets), and who could afford summer vacations" (Blackmar and Cromley 1982:53). At the same time, however, hotel guests were usually unknown to each other, and a hotel stay brought with it both the risk of public exposure and the opportunity for public contact. The verandah, as both public and private space, became the location where rituals and recognition of middle class status played out (Figure 4; Blackmar and Cromley 1982:53-54).

This public negotiation of status on the verandahs of resort hotels was a continuation of the urban elite promenade: a regular ritual carried out in public spaces, whereby men and women of the middle class elites would recognize each other. This recognition was not the recognition of personal identity, but rather a recognition of class belonging. Literally a performance of belonging and exclusion, there were very particular rules about who to acknowledge and how, and who not to acknowledge and how, and how men and women were to interact. Per formula, there was no discussion or conversation during the promenade; simply an acknowledgement of belonging or a shunning. The promenade performance was done both for the benefit of those performing it and for others to witness (Scobey 1992:205-206).

Figure 4: Crosbyside, ca. 1860-1895. Photograph by George W. Conkey, Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views, New York Public Library (G91F120_100ZF).

At resort hotels, verandahs served as a promenade of sorts for those on vacation. Dressed in finery, guests of the Crosbyside (and other resort hotels) would sit out on the verandah to both see and be seen. For some vacation hotels, like those in downtown Saratoga Springs, part of sitting or strolling the hotel piazzas was, indeed, to be seen by the general public from the street (Corbett 2001). At Crosbyside, located on a large lot well away from downtown Lake George (and other resort hotels like the Fort William Henry Hotel, which was located closer to town, but far off the public road), sitting and walking the promenade was not done as a display of class for the general public, but a means of being seen and acknowledged by fellow guests, and as a formalized way for men and women to

socialize together (Figure 5). Promenading in the cities declined by 1890, replaced by clubs and other types of socialization (Nasaw 1999; Scobey 1992:226). Social interaction on the resort verandahs continued, and persisted. At Wiawaka, visitors have a long history of what they call "porching:" sitting in rocking chairs on the house porches enjoying the outdoors while interacting with those coming and going, and with those who choose to sit and spend some time (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Piazza of Fort William Henry Hotel, ca. 1870-1885. Photograph by Seneca Ray Stoddard, Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views, New York Public Library (G91F121_013F).

Figure 6: Women "porching" while waiting for the breakfast bell at Rose Cottage, Wiawaka Holiday House, early twentieth century. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

This “rush and whirl” of urban life that led to the vacation habit was a product of industrial capitalism, and doctors used the term neurasthenia to describe the “ills of modern life” that included irritability, insomnia, lethargy, anxiety, indigestion, and impotence. Historian David Schuster (2011) argues that, from the Industrial Revolution to the early twentieth century, people began to understand that their health was inextricably tied – for good or ill – to an urban modernity. Paradoxically, the vacation habit – seen as a cure for the woes of capitalism -- was itself a capitalist enterprise. In the earliest years of the twentieth century, railroads estimated their income from summer vacationers from hundreds of thousands to millions of dollars and states with vacation destinations counted the economic benefits in the many millions of dollars per year (Perry 1903). In 2015, the vacation industry accounted for 7.6 million American jobs and generated nearly $1.6 trillion in economic output (International Trade Administration 2017).

While upper and middle class Americans were acquiring the vacation habit and spending time away from their workplaces and urban homes, working class Americans in the early twentieth century continued without vacations. Labor conditions for the working classes (as opposed to the managerial and owner classes) were precarious before labor protections were enacted in the 1930s and later.[3] Struggling to keep food on the table and a roof over their heads was a primary concern for working-class laborers. Workers were not guaranteed regular or consistent shifts, and often required to work overtime with no advance warning or lose their jobs while at the same time, factories would shut down – also without warning – to allow for levels of inventory to adjust following periods of over-production or slack demand. Without sick leave, workers lost pay for sick days and sometimes lost their jobs. There few health and safety laws. Laborers striking for better working conditions also resulted in a loss of income, and many factories routinely shut down one to two weeks a year for inventory and repairs or for off-season drops in demand (Nasaw 1999:63; O'Farrell and Kornbluh 1996; Orleck 1995; Schulte 1993:139-140).

While these conditions were pervasive, women were often hardest hit by labor uncertainties, as they were paid significantly less than men (regardless of whether there was a second household income), were often sexually harassed by their bosses and other employees creating what we now would call a hostile working environment, and were

[3] After more than thirty years of public debate by private citizens, businessmen, Progressive reformers, government officials and others that was waged in the nation's newspapers, it was not until 1935 that most wage earners had access to paid vacation time (Schulte 1993:141). Even by 1939, there was no federal legislation guaranteeing vacation or holiday benefits for industrial wage earners (Nasaw 1999:63).

subject to being fired for becoming pregnant, refusing their bosses' advances, or any other reason (Kessler-Harris 2003; O'Farrell and Kornbluh 1996; Orleck 1995). Taking a vacation at the turn of the twentieth century meant a loss of income from not working, as well as the added expenses of traveling and staying away from home. In 1903, one author estimated that a week's vacation would require at least $25 (Matthews 1903:3516). Working class laborers, then, especially women, could ill afford to take vacations. Indeed, many immigrants and workers did not value the white middle-class American ideal of family life in a summer cottage by the sea (Schulte 1993:141). In his argument against providing paid vacations to his employees, one employer ignored the economic reasons his employees were uninterested in unpaid vacations, arguing that his employees were "of foreign extraction and wish to work full-time. Vacations do not appeal to them" (cited in Schulte 1993:139). This othering of immigrants is an example both of the centering of white middle class experience as the status quo and of the intellectual or social construction of a docile workforce.

Despite the fact that most laborers could not afford to take vacations, they were increasingly introduced to the vacation habit. Some with minimal means (a little spare money and a day off) visited vacation resorts and destinations like Coney Island, New York; Revere Beach near Boston; and Dream City in Pittsburgh as day visitors (Aron 1999:186). Vacation savings accounts set up by organizations like the National Civic Foundation (NCF) allowed workers to put aside a little of their earnings every week, that they could then use in the summer to pay for vacation at an NCF-approved location. The NCF Vacation Fund was started in 1913, and as many as four thousand women used it to

afford vacations in its first year (Aron 1999:189-190). Other workers – including those who stayed at Wiawaka Holiday House – participated in vacations sponsored by middle-class reformers and welfare capitalists who in part saw vacations as a way of instilling middle class "American" values into the working classes (Schulte 1993:136; see also Aron 1999:189; Mandell 2002). These vacations were also conceived of as philanthropic and altruistic, providing respite for exhausted, "frail" female factory workers who needed special provisions and protection as potential mothers as well as for overworked and harried mothers at vacation houses and 'fresh air' programs for sick children (Aron 1999:188). The examples researched were overwhelmingly white (Andrews 1994; Ceccacci 2002; Marchione 1996; Schulte 1993:142; Wiawaka Holiday House Archives). These were not the only working class vacation options, however; in some cases, workers formed their own vacation societies (indicating that workers also wanted time away from the factories) or they were operated by labor unions (Andrews 1994; Ceccacci 2002; Eicks 1939; Kessler-Harris 2007:47).

As the twentieth century unfolded, and particularly after paid vacations became increasingly common after the 1920s, and as a growing market and developing transportation networks increased accessibility, vacation opportunities for working class people expanded. In the 1920s, the automobile was credited with the "democratization" of the vacation habit (cited in Flink 1988:179). Just as workers became consumers of products in the transition from industrial to consumer capitalism, they also became consumers of experiences including vacations. Continuing to be excluded from middle- and upper-class vacation communities, working class people also formed vacation

communities for people like themselves, using many of the same tools that were used to exclude them (Schulte 1993).

The Labor of Leisure

Missing from most histories of vacationing and leisure are the workers and the labor of leisure that goes on behind the scenes to create the holiday experience for guests (Figure 7). The impact of studying the labor of leisure goes beyond merely filling out an understudied part of the American experience, but exposes the workings of capitalism itself (O'Donovan and Carroll 2011:192).

Figure 7: Our First Months Pay, June 1928. Two employees on the back kitchen porch of Fuller House at Wiawaka. Wiawaka Holiday House Archives.

Stacey Camp (2011:280) finds it surprising that more archaeologists have not looked at tourism and the tourist industry – a worldwide industry valued at up to $3.4 trillion dollars. Historian Dona Brown suggests that one reason is that the labor of leisure has

seemed to operate outside the marketplace. Just as women did housework and raised children out of "an innate desire to serve," vacationers imagined that the "naturally pleasant, hospitable, and entertaining" tourist workers were following "a natural inclination to please their 'guests'" (Brown 1989:5). This is a projection of the middle class ideal of vacation as a time away from work and separate from the capitalist system of bosses and workers. Despite the fact that the vacation and tourist market is worth trillions of dollars annually, the capitalist nature of vacations and holidays is obscured; the workers necessary to make vacations happen are motivated by a "natural," essential desire to serve and not by earning an income.

While generally not explicit about the role of resorts and vacations in a capitalist system (except to describe them as a reprieve from labor), there are an increasing number of publications that discuss the history of the labor of leisure in vacation/resort settings. Broadly, these include: Jon Sterngass' (2001) history, "African American Workers and Southern Visitors at Antebellum Saratoga Springs;" Myra Young Armstead's (1999) book, *"Lord, Please Don't Take Me in August": African Americans in Newport and Saratoga Springs, 1870-1930* that focuses on the African American role in the creation and success of two resort communities; a chapter on the multi-ethnic workforce of Saratoga Springs in Theodore Corbett's (2001) *The Making of American Resorts: Saratoga Springs, Ballston Spa, Lake George*; a discussion by historian Molly Berger of the behind-the-scenes labor and mechanical systems that characterized the new, modern hotels of 1880 to 1920 in her book, *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929* (Berger 2011:177-216); Thea Sinclair's (1997) edited

economics volume, *Gender, Work, and Tourism*; and some representation in a theme issue of *The International Journal of Historical Archaeology* on leisure and tourism (O'Donovan 2011; O'Donovan and Carroll 2011; Wurst 2011). In the Adirondack region, Philip Terrie's (1997) book, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* explicitly includes the residents of the Adirondacks who did (and continue to do) much of the labor of leisure for vacationers in the region, and Amy Godine (2014) discusses African American resort workers and business owners in her article, "Black History in the Adirondacks." These examples are scattered pieces; there is no broad historical context for looking at the labor of leisure in the context of vacationing (Wurst 2011:255; some authors have examined certain aspects of the leisure of labor, i.e. Cobble's 1991 look at waitresses). In contrast to the lack of discussion about the labor of leisure in the historic literature, there is a large and growing body of evidence describing the exploitation of those working in the trillion dollar leisure industry. This exploitation ranges from low and withheld wages to human trafficking (International Trade Administration 2017; National Human Trafficking Hotline 2017; Sarkisian 2015; US Department of Labor 2014).

Resort and Hotel Archaeological Context

There is a significant body of archaeological literature dealing with colonial-era taverns and inns (Beane and Donald 1994; Bianchi et al. 2010; Colonial Williamsburg 1934; Evans 1979; Hayes 1965; Historical Society of Princeton 1970; Rothschild and Rockman 1984; Springate 2005; Springate et al. 2008; Vogt 1994). Because I focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these will not be discussed here. The published

archaeological literature on nineteenth century and twentieth century hotels and resorts is much slimmer (Camp 2009, 2011; Cox 2007; Fox and Highley 1985; McCullen 2001; O'Donovan 2011; Pinkston 2014; Wurst 2011). Similar sites which may shed some light on the nature of accommodation by large numbers of strangers in one building include boarding houses, and three examples are provided here (Lucas 1994; Peña and Denmon 2000; Sharffenberg 2011).

Allensworth Hotel. The Allensworth Hotel in Allensworth California differs from all of the other examples discussed here as it is both a traveler's hotel (rather than a resort hotel) and was built and owned by African Americans in an African American town. Patrons would have been mostly, if not entirely, Black (Cox 2007). The town was founded in 1908; the wood frame hotel, which offered both dining and lodging, opened in 1910. The dining hall served double duty as a community recreation center. The deed for the hotel stipulated that there be no gambling, prostitution, prize fighting, nor the sale or storage of alcohol. In the artifacts recovered – such as a porcelain water pitcher by Maddocks and Lamberton of New Jersey – Cox (2007) finds the owners of the Allensworth Hotel presenting a material ideology: that its patrons and the establishment were equal in standing with white America. Like the other hotels described here, artifacts from the Allensworth Hotel were largely domestic in nature.

Cataract and Niagara House Hotels. The work of LouAnn Wurst at the Cataract and Niagara House Hotels in Niagara Falls, New York is one of a very small handful of studies looking specifically at the labor of leisure at a hotel site. In her analysis, Wurst

finds “vast numbers of employees living in the hotels” (Wurst 2011:255). By examining the archaeological materials recovered in the context of Niagara Falls’ changing tourism industry, Wurst concludes that the experiences of the laborers -- who created the tourism and leisure experiences of others -- have left material traces. Archaeology, then, has something to contribute to this understudied part of the American experience (Wurst 2011:265).

Hot Wells Hotel. The Hot Wells Hotel site, built at the site of a sulphur springs in south San Antonio, Texas was a large brick resort hotel that opened in 1901 and burned in 1925 (Fox and Highley 1985). Like the Massey Springs Resort (Pinkston 2014) and Wiawaka Holiday House, it was a place people visited to recoup and recover their health in nature. Using archaeological field methods, the authors were able to identify the 1901 hotel building, a building that may have served as a railroad station for the hotel, and a privy (Fox and Highley 1985). Focusing on mapping the footprint of the hotel, soils from only one excavation unit were screened (Fox and Highley 1985:25). Evidence of the hotel fire was found across the site. Much of the glass recovered was melted into “unrecognizable blobs” (Fox and Highly 1985:28) consistent with glass found associated with the Crosbyside fire. Hotel wares are relatively heavy, ironstone-type ceramics made specifically to survive the heavy use by restaurants and hotels. Five distinct patterns were recovered at the Hot Wells Hotel site: plain white ironstone, including a piece made in 1923 by Buffalo China; two different combinations of three thin red and green stripes just inside the rim made by the Carr China Company; a custom pattern of olive green garlands and bows painted with the “Hot Wells Hotel” name, made by the Onandaga

Pottery Company of Syracuse, New York sometime after 1871; a blue floral design on oval serving platters was made by John Maddock & Sons of Staffordshire, England post-1855; and a hotel ware saucer with a green geometric design. Vessel types recovered include plates (eight inch, 8-1/2 inch, and twelve inch); five inch bowls; six inch bowls; six inch saucers; three inch diameter cups; serving vessels; pitchers; and a five inch diameter sugar bowl lid. Half of a white ceramic spittoon was also recovered along with a shard of feather-edged earthenware, a small number of stoneware sherds representing a mug or stein, a crock or churn lid, and a large cylindrical vessel (Fox and Highley 1985:28-32).

Container glass recovered from the site representing the Hot Wells Hotel occupation included soda bottles, a stopper from a Lea and Perrins Worcestershire bottle, fragments of a bright blue screw-top medicine bottle, perfume bottle, and milk glass ointment jars. Table glass included tumblers with a curved base and those with ten vertical panels (Fox and Highley 1985:32). Metal pieces recovered include those from a light fixture and furniture (drawer pull, brass hinge, corner brace, and castor, and claw foot). A buckle, a brooch or button with rhinestones, and composition shoe heel were the clothing-related items recovered. Toys included a black glass marble, plastic toy gun pieces, and a plastic horse. A large fish hook was also recovered (Fox and Highley 1985:32-33). Of note among the construction debris recovered was a fragment of flat, marble slab that was associated with the hotel's interior décor, pulleys from double-hung windows, door hinges and a door latch (Fox and Highley 1985:33, 36).

Although no analysis of these materials was undertaken, artifacts from the Hot Wells site provide a glimpse both at the materiality of an early twentieth century spa resort, but also the impacts of fire.

Kuchalyns of the Borscht Belt. Among the small handful of articles looking at the labor of leisure Maria O'Donovan (2011) explores the development of the Jewish resort area in the Catskills known as the Borscht Belt. She complicates one type of vacation accommodation, the cook alone summer boarding house, by describing the experiences of women. Far from enjoying a leisurely escape, women staying at these *kuchalyns* labored to create their own leisure – and that of their children, who stayed with them, and their husbands who often worked in the city during the week and traveled on weekends to vacation with their families. These women, invisibly perhaps to their husbands and certainly to historians, cleaned, cooked, looked after the children, and did laundry without the benefit of familiar tools, surroundings, or social support networks (O'Donovan 2011:272, 274).

Lacy Hotel. The Lacy Hotel was a nineteenth century boarding house in Kennesaw, Georgia (Sharffenberg 2011). A frame building with brick foundation, the Lacy Hotel first opened in 1859 immediately adjacent to the Western and Atlantic Railroad. It boasted a small, two-level porch and a dining room that could seat 300. The proprietors lived in the hotel, sleeping in the bedroom on the main floor across from the parlor, while their children slept in bedrooms upstairs (Sharffenberg 2011:24, 26). Labor in the boarding house was carried out by the owners and their children (who would entertain the

guests and serve meals), as well as by "colored servants" who did the domestic chores like cleaning house and washing clothes. As the proprietors were not listed as owning slaves, Sharffenberg suggests that these were freed slaves (2011:25), though they could also have been hired enslaved laborers who were owned by others. These laborers slept in servants rooms sharing a wall with a kitchen which was separate from the main house, and in an additional servant's quarter. Other outbuildings included a smokehouse, dairy, two covered wells, outhouse, and an additional servant's quarter (Sharffenberg 2011:27-28). On June 9, 1864, the Lacy family were evicted from the property by Union soldiers, and Sherman used the building as a headquarters. On November 14, 1864, as Sherman and his men left the town, he ordered the Lacy Hotel to be burnt (Sharffenberg 2011:33-35). This occupation period overlaps with the early history of the Crosbyside Hotel.

The artifact assemblage was generally domestic, indicating that the proprietors (the Lacy family) lived a middle-class lifestyle, though the assemblage was larger than would be expected from a single family dwelling because of the need to provide for guests (Sharffenberg 2011:94, 107). Ceramics included cheap, mass-produced plain whitewares with stonewares used for storage. Plain whitewares made sense in the context of a boarding house/hotel that could seat 300 people for dinner (Sharffenberg 2011:94), as it would be both affordable to replace and easy to match with existing dishes. Porcelain vessels would have been used for special guests or events in the parlor, a material negotiation of the family's class (Sharffenberg 2011:95). Sharffenberg goes on to analyze Mrs. Lacy's role at the boarding house not just as housewife, but as an integral part of the capitalist enterprise of running the business.

Martin Phillips Boarding House. This nineteenth century boarding house in Buffalo, New York was home to 36 male sailors between 19 and 52 years of age. More than just a place to sleep, this type of boarding house took the place of family life for migrant workers, providing some protection and community from outside forces (Peña and Denmon 2000:82). While food service ceramics were relatively utilitarian, expensive tea wares were recovered, suggesting that despite fictive kin relationships that formed among boarding house keepers and boarders, material distinctions may have played out with fancy tea wares serving to set the family apart from their tenants (Peña and Denmon 2000:90).

Massey Springs Resort. In her masters' thesis, Renee Pinkston (2014) uses archaeological data as well as interpretive methods from vernacular architecture and folklore studies to investigate the two hotels once located at the Massey Springs Resort site in central Kentucky, a popular resort destination in the early 1900s. Like other resorts built around springs (i.e. Corbett 2001; McMillan 1982; Pearson 2007; Valenza 2000) and places like Wiawaka Holiday House, Massey Springs was a "rejuvenation hotel," where people would go for health and healing. Spas and natural mineral springs are still looked to as sources of rejuvenation and healing (see, for example, Altman 2000). The first hotel on the property is poorly documented. Pinkston was able to determine that the building was purpose-built as the hotel (rather than being a repurposed building) circa 1890. It was a single story frame structure with a tin roof and six rooms or spaces – two of which, on the east side, may have been a verandah or staff quarters. The fireplace was located in the

western third of the building (Pinkston 2014:93-95). Artifacts recovered from the first hotel site were typical of a residential site (Pinkston 2014:88). Like at the Crosbyside and other resort hotels at the time, the open hallways and possible verandah "allowed visitors to feel nature even when they were in the building… The first hotel put visitors right in the middle of nature, so they could experience it in all directions" (Pinkston 2014:100). Photographs of the second Massey Springs hotel show a large frame three-story structure with open verandahs on all levels. On the interior, the hotel had 34 guest rooms plus six bachelor's suites; on the first floor was a large dining room (Pinkston 2014:104-105).

McGraw Boardinghouse. In 1891, James McGraw opened a large boarding house in Lower Town Harpers Ferry with 30 large rooms which could accommodate several families or separate individual boarders (Lucas 1994:85). Based on the presence of "Home Rule" smoking pipes, at least some of the boarders were of Irish ancestry, if not recent immigrants. Ceramics from this boarding house are of an integrated, or matched set – in this case of undecorated whitewares including bakers, pitchers, two 10-inch plates; one nine-inch plate; two eight-inch plates; four seven-and-one-half inch plates; one seven-inch plate; and two platters. Like guests at the Crosbyside Hotel and at Wiawaka, the McGraw boarding house keeper decided on the types of meals served and the vessels used to that end (Lucas 1994:87-88). Undecorated earthenware sets were advertised specifically for boarding houses, and may have been attractive because it was easy to replace a broken dish without worrying about matching a pattern (Lucas 1994:89). The presence of large plates (9- and 10-inch diameters) at the boarding house suggests that food was served Old English-style, where food was placed on the table in

serving vessels from which diners helped themselves (Lucas 1994:89). The variety of other dishes present indicated that at least semi-formal dining and different types of meals (i.e. breakfast or afternoon tea) were also served at the boarding house. A small number of decorated vessels may represent a desire for greater formality in certain circumstances – such as Sunday dinners or special occasions, or were kept by the boarding house keeper for his own use (Lucas 1994:89). In short, the ceramics and equally diverse glass assemblages from the McGraw boarding house suggest that boarders and the boarding house keeper took part in a number of levels of formality and dining styles (Lucas 1994:89-90).

Mount Lowe Resort and Railway. Mount Lowe Resort and Railway, located in the Angeles National Forest near Altadena, California, was a resort complex that included four large hotels, a zoo, bowling alley, post office, miniature golf course, fox farm, and a railway system that extended from Long Beach (Camp 2011:284). It was one of the most popular US tourist destinations between the years of 1893 and 1936, and Camp explores the racialization processes that made tourism workers at the resort both visible and invisible at the site, both in the past and in the present (Camp 2011:280; see also Camp 2009).

The size of the resort meant that the workers were required to live on site, creating a "nervous landscape," a concept articulated by Denis Byrne (2003) that describes spaces where people of racial, sexual, moral, or other differences could easily come into contact. Part of mediating nervous landscapes was preventing "inappropriate" interactions from

occurring. At Mount Lowe, this included a physical marginalization of workers who themselves were perceived as marginal because of their work, nationality, gender, race, and language ability (Camp 2011:286-287). Managers at Mount Lowe tended to be of Irish ancestry and lived in nicer quarters than did the other railway laborers, many of whom were non-naturalized Mexican immigrants. Under the banner of Americanization, the company strove to make these immigrants into a stable, non-striking workforce by providing housing and instruction in lower-class, trade-oriented work like gardening, car repair, and domestic service– and yet the artifacts recovered indicate that these workers were also hunting small game on the mountain to survive (Camp 2011:287-288, 293). Types of jobs available at Mount Lowe were segregated by ethnicity/race and by gender: women could work as waitresses, clerks, housekeepers, hostesses, and cooks, while men occupied a wide variety of jobs, including those in positions of power such as chief clerk, hotel proprietor, and manager (Camp 2011:290-291).

Yellowstone Lake Hotel. Artifacts recovered from behind the Yellowstone Lake Hotel during construction work in the fall of 2000 represent an historic trash dump (48YE825) associated with the hotel, dating from ca. 1915 to 1920 (McCullen 2001). Yellowstone Lake Hotel is the oldest surviving hotel in Yellowstone Park, with the original core built between 1889 and 1891, an addition in 1895, and major renovations in 1904-1905 (McCullen 2001:114). Artifacts were recovered from soil disturbed during construction work, resulting in a lack of stratigraphic context for the assemblage. Because of the extent of the disturbance and limited time, artifact recovery focused on diagnostic artifacts, including those with distinct makers' marks (McCullen 2001:114-115).

Artifacts recovered from the midden include a key fob from the hotel itself, dating from the late 1910s to the early 1920s, and clearly tying the deposits to the hotel. Ceramics made by the Greenwood China Company of Trenton, New Jersey made up the majority of the ceramics recovered, representing small sauce dishes to dinner platters as well as tea cups and saucers. Greenwood China specialized in mass-produced hotel wares (McCullen 2001:116, 118). Recreational items recovered included two fishing rod ferrules (McCullen 2001:118). Among the beverage bottles recovered were whiskey bottles and flasks as well as brown beer bottles and olive green bottles used for either Guinness or Bass Ale. Large numbers of four-ounce grape juice bottles were recovered, representing both Welch's grape juice and Royal Purple Grape Juice, bottled by United Grape Products Sales Corporation of Buffalo, New York (McCullen 2001:118-119). Also recovered were building materials, a manure pitchfork, and others.

Well represented among the artifacts from the Yellowstone Lake Hotel were personal care items including a soap dish, Listerine bottles, cologne and perfume bottles, a Vaseline jar, bottles from Bromo Caffeine and Bromo Seltzer, and several containers that once held skin creams, including Richard Hudnut's "Marvelous Cold Cream." McCullen (2001:117-118) wonders, given the large quantity of cosmetics containers, if guests brought these items with them, or whether they were used by the hotel staff, connecting the midden to the living quarters for staff women once located in the attic of the hotel. McCullen (2001:119) surmises that this disparate assortment of artifacts, which you

would not normally find grouped together in single-function contexts (like living quarters or kitchen refuse), likely represents an end-of-season cleanout of the Lake Hotel.

Holiday Houses

Historians have published very little on women's holiday houses. They have not previously been represented in the archaeological literature. In widely-available publications, they are mentioned only in passing in discussions about women's involvement in labor struggles (Kessler-Harris 2007:47) and corporate paternalism (Mandel 2002), as well as in writings about working women and leisure (Aron 1999). A more in-depth discussion of women's holiday houses and their connection to middle class reform and as one of the ways that working class people became acquainted with "the vacation habit" can be found in Schulte's (1993) dissertation that focuses on family summer vacation communities in New England. Marchione's (1996) master's thesis is the only scholarly work that focuses entirely on a holiday house: the French Point holiday house operated by General Electric from 1917 through 1931. In addition to providing a two-week respite from the monotony and tension of assembly line work – not to mention from the malnourishment suffered by the women and the fatigue of improper lighting, seating, and ventilation – French Point Camp was also designed to impart wholesome and respectable American, middle class ideals onto General Electric's impressionable female employees. Paradoxically, General Electric also encouraged their female employees to forget their femininity and "play like men," while continuing to bar them from masculine jobs and better pay (Marchione 1996).

Other information about women's holiday houses was found in National Register of Historic Places nominations for Wiawaka Holiday House on Lake George, New York (Sayers 1998), the Working Girls' Vacation Society Historic District in Haddam, Connecticut (Andrews 1994), and Fernside in Princeton, Massachusetts (Ceccacci 2002). All of these places were nominated to the National Register under Criterion A, association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history – in these cases, the holiday house movement (Wiawaka and Fernside are also nominated under Criterion C, architectural significance; Ceccacci 2002; Sayers 1998).

In most cases, holiday houses hearkened back to the Victorian middle-class ideology of separate spheres, which identified the home as a safe place associated with the nurturing characteristics of women and which identified urban, work spaces with men, masculinity, and danger. Holiday houses were feminine and domestic places, where women could be apart from the threats and challenges of men in dangerous urban environments. Located in rural, beachfront, or other natural places, holiday houses replaced the masculine and sexualized urban crush with the innocent idylls of Mother Nature, which were both healthy and healing (Fiege 2012; van Slyck 2006). They were places where working women, ill from overwork and factory conditions, could gain strength and be ready for their winter's work (Vernon 1891). An examination of known women's holiday houses (see Table 1) shows that they share many of the same physical characteristics: they are located in nature, often on or near a body of water; they are framed as domestic spaces using family rhetoric (visitors are "like family"; common spaces are referred to as "living

rooms;" managers are referred to as "house mothers"); they are regimented, with set communal meal times, lights-out times, and scheduled activities that include field trips, swimming, and games; rooms are often shared with other visitors; they limit contact beyond the property boundaries (i.e., limited or chaperoned access to "the locals"); there is an enforced morality that includes no drinking, no smoking, and no contact with men (or no unchaperoned contact); and those staying at the holiday houses are responsible for doing at least some of the work (making beds, cleaning their own rooms, chores, etc.). This last is done partly to lower the costs of operating the holiday houses, but also to "instruct the girls in home economics" (Aron 1999:191).

Table 1: Information about Women's Holiday Houses

Name	Location	Auspices	Open	Closed	Notes
Camp Moodna	Mountainville, NY	New York Society of Ethical Culture until 1918; then Grand Street Settlement (*Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* 1934)	1907	After 1960 (*Pocono Record* 1960)	Camp was 20 old horse cars formerly from the Avenue A line in New York City, placed in a long line facing the creek. Included 16 sleeping cars, 2 dining cars, library car, kitchen car, a tennis court, dance platform, swimming pool. Cost of $3.50 per week. (*New York Times* 1907, 1910). By 1941, was a camp for children (Snelson 1941).
Cromwell Manor	Angola Road, Cornwall, NY	Association of Retired Teachers	By 1970		Vacation country house for New York City's retired and active teachers. Open to ART members, retired or active. Those with annual income below $3,000 stay free for two weeks (pamphlet, Wiawaka Holiday House Archives)
Fernside	Princeton, MA	Working-Girls' Club (Boston) and the Girls'	1890	1989	First women's vacation house in the US. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union acted as

Name	Location	Auspices	Open	Closed	Notes
		Vacation House Association			agents for booking guests (Ceccacci 2002; Eicks 1939)
French Point Camp	Lake George, NY	General Electric	1917	1931	Private dock, boathouse, ice house, boats, piano, smokehouse, basketball and volleyball courts, and dancing on the piazza. Lodging provided in 25 tents, sleeping 2 each. Open to General Electric's female employees from any factories in 9 cities or district offices. Cost less than $1 per day (General Electric Company 1926; Ripley 1918:520-523)
Helena Dudley Vacation House	Winthrop, MA	Denison House	1905		(Schulte 1993:141)
Iron Rail	Lake Chebacco, Essex County, MA	Helen Frick, daughter of industrialist Henry Clay Frick	1910		Helen Frick opened the Frick estate on Lake Chebacco to working class mothers and daughters from industrial centers across NE Massachusetts (Schulte 1993:141).
Rockport Lodge	Massachusetts	Massachusetts Association of Women Workers; Massachusetts League of Women Workers; Massachusetts League of Girls' Clubs; Women's Educational and Industrial Union	1907	2002	Rockport Lodge replaced an earlier vacation house, opened in 1904 in Bayside (Earle 2012; Murolo 1997:169).
Seashore Cottages	Atlanticville, NJ	YWCA	As early as 1880		A place for "store-girls" and "factory-girls" to enjoy a visit to the seashore, up to two weeks at a time for very low prices (Aron 1999:188).
Siegel & Cooper's Cottage	Long Branch, NJ	Siegel and Cooper	1898	1912	Siegel and Cooper was a NYC store. They ran a vacation house at the seashore, free for their female employees for a week-long stay. Women made their beds and were "trained in the standards of

Name	Location	Auspices	Open	Closed	Notes
					living" (Springarn 1909:519). The cottage served in lieu of a paid vacation policy; when the company offered paid vacations in 1912, the employees voted to close the cottage (Aron 1999:191).
Union Vacation House	Squantum, MA	Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, MA	1908		(Schulte 1993:141)
Unknown Name	Seashore	Bloomingdales, NYC store			Free week for female employees (Aron 1999:190-191).
Unknown Name	A lake 6 miles from the factory	Boott Mills, Lowell, MA	1909		$1.50 per week, open only for female employees. Guests helped run the site by making beds, doing dishes, etc. as a means of saving money on hiring staff, and also to instruct the girls in home economics (Aron 1999:191).
Unknown Name	Unknown	International Harvester	ca. 1901		A summer camp for female employees (Aron 1999:189; Mandell 2002).
Unknown Name	Niantic, Long Island Sound	Thompson Trust Fund, Brattleboro, VT	1913		Opened for women who worked in Brattleboro's factories (Schulte 1993:141)
Various	Includes: Lake George, NY Canaan, CT Cape May, NJ Plum Beach, RI	Girls' Friendly Society			Over 30 GFS holiday houses were open during the early 1900s. Only the one in Cape May, NJ survives (Girls' Friendly Society USA 2014).
Various	East Haddam, CT Hadlyme, CT Santa Clara, NY	Working-Girls' Club	East Haddam : 1892	East Haddam : 1945	The Working-Girls' Club operated 10 vacation houses in 1909, charging $3 to $4 per week, but waiving the fee for those who could not afford it. Working women (aged 14-26) visited; they included factory workers, saleswomen, teachers, dressmakers, and stenographers (Andrews

Name	Location	Auspices	Open	Closed	Notes
					1994; Aron 1999:190; *Outlook* 1905).
Wiawaka Holiday House	Lake George, NY	Girls' Friendly Society; Wiawaka Holiday House	1903	Still open	Originally opened in 1903 under the auspices of the Episcopalian Girls' Friendly Society, it shifted to a secular organization in the early 20th century.
Winnecunnet	Martha's Vineyard, MA	Boston YWCA	1921	At least 1955	Purchased to provide affordable vacations for young, working women (Knowles, Aloisio, and Engelhart 2016).

Types of Holiday Houses

Underlying these surface similarities are differing ideologies. In her brief exploration of holiday houses Schulte (1993) groups them into three categories: 1) those founded by social welfare agencies like the Women's Education and Industrial Union, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the National Consumers' League, and the National League of Women Workers who, concerned about the impacts of overwork on women's health and concerns about how working women used their leisure time, founded vacation places for single working women; 2) settlement workers who founded vacation houses for immigrants, children, and their families as places where they could teach and instill American values; and 3) welfare capitalists who, as an act of corporate paternalism, provided vacations to their employees that were structured around the "proper" use of vacation time (Schulte 1993:143-144).

Missing from Schulte's classification are holiday houses founded by workers themselves, or by labor unions. Offered here is a modified classification:

1. Those grounded in social welfare and moral reform;
2. Those grounded in corporate paternalism; and
3. Those grounded in labor reform.

These categories are somewhat amorphous, as many women's holiday houses were founded with multiple purposes in mind, and often shared several characteristics. However, these categories do capture the distinguishing motivations.

Holiday Houses Grounded in Social Welfare and Moral Reform. It is almost impossible to separate the threads of social welfare from moral reform in the founding of women's holiday houses. For middle-class reform groups like the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, the YWCA, settlement houses, and others, improving the lives of working women included improving their health through vacations away from the cities, but also in steering them away from traditionally working-class pastimes and teaching them middle-class skills like housekeeping. The middle class women who ran these holiday houses also perceived a benefit in the "easing of class tensions" through benevolence (Aron 1999:192). Beneath these ideas of social welfare and improvement were middle class moralistic ideals about appropriate behavior and entertainments for women, about how men and women interacted, and about sexual activity both outside of marriage and for money (see, for example, Richmond 2007; Alexander 1995). "Saving" these women from the evils of the city (idleness, sexual promiscuity, and prostitution) was framed as instilling moral "American" values, not middle-class values. Multiple motivations were not uncommon in social reform projects (Springate 2017a). Some

organizations, like the Girls' Friendly Society who founded Wiawaka Holiday House in 1903, framed their primary mission as a moral one:

> Objects. 1. To bind together in one Society Churchwomen as Associates, and girls and young women as Members, for mutual help (religious and secular), for sympathy and prayer. 2. To encourage purity of life, dutifulness to parents, faithfulness to employers, and thrift. 3. To provide the privileges of the Society for its Members, wherever they may be, by giving them an introduction from one Branch to another. (Girls' Friendly Society in America 1903)

Associate membership in the GFS was limited to communicants in the Episcopal Church; no such limitation was placed on Members. Both groups were required to contribute to the society's funds; in 1903, the rate for Associates was a minimum of six cents per month and for Members a minimum of three cents per month. While Members were required to be "virtuous" in character, no such limitation was spelled out for Associates – presumably, their character as middle-class and elites was by default virtuous (Girls' Friendly Society in America 1903). Other organizations, like the YWCA, focused more on studying the effects of work on women's health and on teaching working women household and social skills valued by middle class women (Knowles, Aloisio, and Engelhart 2016). Working women who stayed at these holiday houses were often conceived of and referred to as children; indeed, at Wiawaka Holiday House, working women guests were referred to as "girls," and occasionally as "inmates" (Girls' Friendly Society in America 1912/1913; Wiawaka Holiday House Archives).

Many of these vacation houses boasted full bookings during their summer seasons, and there are examples of "bread and butter" letters thanking those who ran them for their hospitality (Wiawaka Holiday House Archives; Johnstone 1910). A postcard sent from

Wiawaka in 1936 proclaims that the writer had a wonderful time, without giving many details:

> Wiawaka. Dear Adella. I'm soon having to leave here after a delightful week. Wish I could stay longer. You would love it up here. This is cottage I was in. Had a nice room-mate. Write you a letter when I get back. Love, Grace (Postcard from Grace to Miss Adella Bulwinski, Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1936. Collection of the author. See Figure 15).

Certainly, on one level, these places were popular, and many women returned year after year. And yet, there is some evidence that these holiday houses were not without their critics. An article published in 1913 noted that vacation houses operated by churches, settlement houses, and other charitable and reform organizations were "unpopular because of the restrictions imposed on the inmates… there was no freedom of action" (Thompson cited in Aron 1999:193). The rules that the "inmates" chafed under in particular were the prohibition of socializing with men and the requirement of doing chores (Aron 1999:193-194).

A 1920 short fiction, "The Free Vacation House" by Anzia Yezierska, describes an immigrant woman's experience at a holiday house designed to provide affordable vacations for working mothers. The entire experience for the protagonist is one of humiliation, answering detailed personal questions, reporting to the charity office, and then, when finally at the holiday house, being forced to stay out back, to not sit in the comfortable chairs, to not rest during the day, and to answer to bells. The front part of the house, she describes, is kept nice for the other visitors:

> If the best part of the house what is comfortable is made up for show for visitors, why ain't they keeping the whole business for a show for visitors? For why do they have to fool in worn-out mothers, to make them think they'll give them a

> rest? Do they need the worn-out mothers as part of the show? I guess that is it, already (Yezierska 1920).

In this portrayal, the working women are there as props, to make the other visitors feel like they are being good philanthropists by patronizing a vacation spot that is doing charity work. Ultimately, the protagonist returns home, a reformed woman who finds her formerly insufferable circumstances to be freedom:

> How good it was feeling for me to be able to move around my own house, like I pleased. I was always kicking that my rooms was small and narrow, but now my small rooms seemed to grow so big like the park. I looked out from my window on the fire-escapes, full with bedding and garbage-cans, and on the wash-lines full with the clothes. All these ugly things was grand in my eyes. Even the high brick walls all around made me feel like a bird what just jumped out of a cage (Yezierska 1920).

The reality of experience for most working women at these holiday houses based in social reform likely fell somewhere between the glowing bread and butter letters published in the sites' annual reports and Yezierska's deeply dystopian portrayal. Regardless, "A cheap place to stay in the countryside or by the seashore – even if not perfect – no doubt beat a week in the sweltering city" (Aron 1999:192-193).

Holiday Houses Grounded in Labor and Labor Reform. This category of holiday house includes those founded by groups of working women and by labor unions representing working women. Union-run holiday houses, including Unity House belonging to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, encouraged women to join and stay in unions, in part by providing social and bonding opportunities with other union members (Kessler-Harris 2007:47).

Fernside, the first American holiday house, was opened by the Girls Vacation House Association, a private organization of working women, in 1889 or 1890 (Ceccacci 2002; Eicks 1939). Other working girls' organizations like the Massachusetts Association of Women Workers and the Working Girls' Vacation Society of New York City also opened holiday houses that were focused largely on respite and camaraderie (see, for example, Ceccacci 2002; Eicks 1939; Andrews 1994).[4] These working girls' clubs also served a moral function, inviting only those working women deemed worthy into their organizations and to vacation at their houses, and geared their programming and outreach to presenting and promoting a middle class respectability among working women. "Toughs" or "rough" women, a subjective designation that took into account factors like morality, employment, and race, were universally excluded from these vacation houses (and from the groups that organized them) regardless of whether the founding organizations were run by middle class reformers, unions, or workers themselves (Murolo 1997:20-21; Stansell 1982:219). This set a minimum standard of acceptability among working women to reap the benefits of holiday houses. This division of those deserving of opportunity from those excluded is an echo of the division between the "worthy" and "unworthy" poor found in other areas of reform.

[4] The first working girls' club, the Thirty-eighth Street Club of Working Girls, was founded by six working women who were brought together by Miss Grace H. Dodge of the New York State Aid Charity Association in 1883. Not surprisingly, having been formed at the behest of a middle class reformer, this first working girls' group embodied much of the middle class moral ideology. The organization's goals were to furnish pleasant spaces where members could spend their evenings (i.e. off the streets and away from degenerate entertainments like theaters, etc.); to provide educational classes "for mutual enjoyment and improvement" (echoing moral organizations' education of working women in middle class housekeeping and other pursuits); and to compile a circulating library (again, echoing appropriate middle class entertainments). Early in 1890, the Thirty-eighth Street Club of Working Girls took it upon themselves to "show the public what are the aims and characteristics of working girls." The group was successful, and many other working girls' clubs formed across the country. Despite their goals of respectability, they were often spurned from joining ranks with middle class Women's Clubs (Croly 1898:82-83).

Holiday Houses Grounded in Corporate Paternalism. Holiday houses run by businesses like General Electric and International Harvester were part of the corporate welfare movement that engendered a controlling, paternalistic attitude towards employees. Part of this paternalistic approach was to take care of employees by providing educational opportunities, libraries, and access to corporate-managed vacations, in part to keep employees from unionizing (see, for example, Aron 1999:189; Mandell 2002). These company vacation cottages also extended employers' power and authority over their employees to non-work time, where they demanded that their female employees learn appropriate (middle class / American) standards of living (Aron 1999:194; Marchione 1996; see also Camp 2011 for an example not limited to women). In this way, holiday houses grounded in corporate paternalism also smacked of morality.

Archaeological Context

As mentioned previously, there have been no archaeological studies of women's holiday houses. Limited archaeological testing was done in 2007 on the grounds of Wiawaka near Wakonda Lodge in advance of the installation of water lines, but no significant or intact deposits were recovered (Black 2007). Unlike the other National Register of Historic Places nominations, the one prepared for Fernside in Princeton, Massachusetts considers the archaeological potential of the property. In addition to evidence of the mid-eighteenth century occupation of the property, "occupational related features should also exist related to the Harrington period of occupation and later use of the complex as a hotel, boarding house, tavern and summer vacation house for working girls" (Ceccacci 2002).

Lacking an existing archaeological context for women's holiday houses, I looked to other, similar types of sites for ways to think about the data. These similar sites include those associated with social reform, as well as sites associated with hotels and resorts described above. As detailed in Chapter 1, places of social reform are those that are founded with the purpose of improving the status quo, particularly associated with groups of people (Springate 2017a). Sites similar to Wiawaka Holiday House include settlement houses; the Magdalen Society in Philadelphia; the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls in Chicago; Sailors' Snug Harbor in New York City; prisons; poorhouses; and asylums.

Settlement Houses. The Settlement Movement began in England in 1884 with the establishment of Toynbee Hall. Americans looked to England for solutions to the problems of industrialization and urbanization in America, and in 1886, Stanton Coit brought the idea of settlement houses to America, co-founding the Neighborhood Guild in the Lower East Side of New York City. It closed in 1887 when Coit returned to England, but was revived in 1891 and renamed the University Settlement (Addams and Brown 1999:19; Davis 1967). Jane Addams founded Hull House in Chicago with her friend and partner, Ellen Gates Starr in 1889, following her own visit to Toynbee Hall (Addams and Brown 1999:9-10). Where settlement houses diverged from other social reform projects was in the assertion that the poor were helping the rich just as much as the rich were helping the poor; that "dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal," and that "without the advance and improvement of the whole, no man can hope for any lasting improvement in his own moral or material individual conditions" (Addams and

Brown 1999:80, 96). Also original was the idea that these benefits could be best realized by moving into the neighborhoods of the poor and working classes to provide support, programs, resources, and advocacy (Addams and Brown 1999:9). Part of their goal was to break down class barriers in an "attempt to heal society by restoring social intercourse between artificially surrendered classes" (Addams and Brown 1999:80; Carson 1990:67). Note that their goal was not to eliminate the class distinctions between the middle and lower classes, but merely to "restore social intercourse;" note the resonance of this goal with the "easing of class tensions" described as part of the social reform-based holiday house. Despite goals to improve the lives of their neighbors, many settlement house projects displaced people from their homes (as decrepit and overcrowded as they may have been), knocking them down for expansion projects (Addams and Brown 1999:254; for a visual showing the expansion of Hull House from a single house in 1889 to almost a complete city block by 1907, see Haar 2002:Figure 2).

Settlement houses were founded and staffed largely by first generation college-educated women who, not wishing to return to a solely domestic life as wives and housekeepers, and finding few employment opportunities to match their skills, found ways to both work for social change and to empower each other. Settlement houses were paragons of "feminine virtue: domesticity, nurturance, a special solicitude for the homely details of daily life, and moral guardianship over family and community…. [They] institutionalized the religion of humanity that was one of the most potent products of Victorian middle-class culture and served as one of the most powerful conduits of Victorian social thought into the twentieth century." (Carson 1990:97, 198; Capitanio 2010:98). Founders of

holiday houses, like Jane Addams, often hired other college-educated women to work in the settlement houses (Addams and Brown 1999; Carson 1990; Deutsch 2000; Muncy 1991; Rousmaniere 1970; Solomon 1985; Trattner 1999; Williams and MacLean 2015). Much of the work of settlement houses served to assimilate working class and poor immigrants into American society by teaching them English, reading, writing, and social (moral) graces based on a middle class ethos of domesticity, providing them the skills to manage their own homes and/or to work as domestic servants for the middle and upper classes (Capitanio 2010:103; Hayden 1981:159; Strasser 1982:206). Settlement houses also served as places for neighborhood residents to socialize, a response to men in the saloons, idle children, and "women with no respectable social outlets" (Capitanio 2010:100) who instead turned to the "corruption" found in dance halls, pool halls, and movie theaters (Addams and Brown 1999:26). "Charity workers emphasized the individual causes of poverty, while settlement workers stressed the social and economic conditions that made people poor" (Davis 1967:47). Settlement workers positioned themselves as members of the neighborhood (even though many lived elsewhere), rather than condescending charity outsiders (Capitanio 2010:46), while at the same time, studying their constituents (Williams and MacLean 2015). After their arrival in the US, settlement houses spread quickly to cities across the country; by 1911, there were over 400 in the United States (Addams and Brown 1999:19; Hayden 1981:162-165, 173).

Settlement house workers also supported their neighborhood in neighborhood and labor reforms, working to have refuse collected from the streets and providing space where workers could organize and their labor unions could meet – though some downplayed

their involvement in unionization, perhaps to appease their middle and upper class benefactors (Addams and Brown 1999:27-28, 98; Capitanio 2010:111-112).

In 1987, Suzanne Spencer-Wood described the archaeological potential of settlement house sites. She hypothesized that settlement houses, which in part, served as homes for middle and upper class men and women, would – unlike non-residential reform sites – produce "the full range of adult domestic remains expected from permanent residence" (Spencer-Wood 1987:28). At many settlements, settlement workers lived in their own homes, away from the settlement building and its neighborhood. One of the questions that Spencer-Wood frames for the research of reform sites is an examination of the materiality, particularly around domesticity ("domestic equipment and tableware"), at settlement houses versus that found in the homes of the settlement workers and in the homes of the working class and poor people living in the neighborhoods they served (Spencer-Wood 1987:28-29).

Despite Spencer-Wood's early (1987) mention of settlement houses as potentially fruitful sites for archaeological excavation, I was unable to find any archaeological investigations of settlement house sites until the study of Denison House, founded in 1892 in Boston (Capitanio 2010; Hartry 1995). The founding ideology of Denison House was not philanthropy, but democracy: "a free flowing life between group and group" (i.e. immigrants and working class neighbors and the middle and upper-class college-educated settlers) (Hartry 1995). Without excavating the site, Capitanio uses photographs and other documents to analyze the building's spaces, focusing on the layout and materiality of

domestic versus public space. She focuses on how the middle and upper middle class women who worked at Denison House were able to find acceptance among their working-class neighbors while maintaining connections with their own middle class peers and benefactors. “Denison House residents were often at odds with their neighbors, who disagreed with the workers’ definitions of appropriate behavior and lifestyles” (Deutsch 2000:16). Capitanio finds that the reformers running Denison House furnished and decorated it with care, with “central visiting rooms that look like they would have been found in the elite Back Bay, instead of the tenements of the South Cove” (Capitanio 2010:87). Indeed, one of the first things they did upon working to establish Denison House was to create a Furnishing Committee. They spent $4,000 in 1895 to renovate and furnish the main floor parlor (Capitanio 2010:88). While for the middle classes, the parlor was the primary social space of the house and where guests (including potential donors and politicians) would meet, a neighborhood resident noted that a room without a bed was a “waste of space” (cited in Capitanio 2010:90). The presence of the parlor was not, however, just for the benefit of the middle class settlement house workers, but as encouragement for the poor and working classes to live in spaces that also had parlors, as a means of improvement: “To have a parlor gives a family a strong and thoroughly commendable feeling of self-respect…. The almost universal absence of a common parlor where lodgers may receive their visitors, especially those of the opposite sex; and the lack, in general, of suitable provision for the reserves and proprieties of life, tend still more to break down social and moral barriers” (Robert Woods, head of the South End Settlement, 1898, cited in Capitanio 2010:91). Other spaces, such as the kitchen and basement where classes on domestic tasks like laundry and cooking were held, were

much less elaborate, with plain wood floors, plain curtains, and a lack of artwork (Capitanio 2010:94-95). “In contrast to their neighbors’ homes, the residents created a space very much like what they were accustomed to in middle-class society. This could be seen as their way of maintaining a balance between their class and the class among whom they chose to live and work. Also, by using middle-class conceptions of right and wrong, they were able to maintain the support of society as well as their donors. However they also created a very public space where they held power, a first for many women” (Capitanio 2010:97). Similar decoration is shown in early twentieth century postcard images of Wiawaka Holiday House and the Girls’ Friendly Society lodge in Boston, and was also described at Hull House in Chicago: “We furnished the house as we would have furnished it were it in another part of the city, with the photographs and other impedimenta we had collected in Europe, and with a few bits of family mahogany” (Addams and Brown 1999:81).

The Magdalen Society in Philadelphia. The residential Magdalen Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (De Cunzo 1995, 2001) opened in 1808 as a place where “fallen women” (women working as prostitutes and others who had become pregnant out of wedlock) could go in the face of social opprobrium. The goal of the Magdalen Society was to reform these women by teaching them housekeeping skills so that they could get jobs as domestic servants. In 1845, the asylum was remodeled as an ideal middle-class home, emphasizing the new moral architecture of domesticity. A wall was built to separate inmates from the world, and they had limited yard access (De Cunzo 2001:26-27, 31). The exclusion of inmates from formal tea service is reflected by the recovery of only two

porcelain tea vessels, the presence of which suggest that the Matron may have distinguished herself and her guests through heightened status display at tea time (De Cunzo 2001:27). The remaining tableware from this period is a mix of older and newer whiteware with minimal, mismatched decoration. While inmates and staff ate together, the recovery of only four transfer print plates suggests that the Matron and staff may have thus distinguished themselves from the inmates at table, "symbolizing the economic, social, and ideological distance that…separated the two groups" (De Cunzo 2001:29). In 1877, the make-up of the asylum "family" shifted from fallen women to wayward girls (De Cunzo 2001:33, 35), and inmates were encouraged to be outside and to garden (De Cunzo 2001:34). Ideally, "the girls would assimilate middle-class domestic values and lower-class domestic skills" (De Cunzo 2001:37). New, matching sets of dishes with brightly colored decoration were purchased, supplementing any remaining older vessels. From 1908 until its closure in 1918, areas of the yard were no longer forbidden, and inmates played sports and games and engaged in other avenues of "appropriate, responsible leisure" (De Cunzo 2001:39-40). St. John's Reformatory in Australia likewise protected society from the ills of wanton women, enculturating them into acceptable citizens (de Leiuen 2015). Both Wiawaka and the Magdalen Society shared common reform ideologies, goals, and methods, as well as what appears to be an overlap in clientele (young women).

The Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls in Chicago. The Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls in Chicago was founded by the Phillis Wheatley Association in 1908. It was opened to provide a place where single African American women, traveling to Chicago for work

and a better life as part of the Great Migration, could find a safe place to stay, avoiding the dangers of being alone in a new city (Agbe-Davies 2010a; 2011). This is similar to groups like the Girls' Friendly Society who founded Wiawaka. They, too, provided programs, training, and companionship for "girls" (actually young women in their 20s and 30s) traveling to American cities from overseas and rural areas for work; safe haven from the corrupting influences of the cities and their denizens. Groups like the GFS, however, served only white working women. African American women were denied access to many of the social services available to whites (Agbe-Davies 2010a:381), and so founded their own organizations. Like morally-grounded organizations like the GFS, the managers of the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls were determined to teach respectable behaviors to their charges. Respectability ultimately defined based on white, middle-class standards and framed as the way to be accepted in society – for African American and working class white women, acceptance meant being qualified to work as domestics (Agbe-Davies 2011:75). In African American communities, the ideology of respectability was used as a way to make African Americans acceptable to whites; to justify "claims to equality and freedoms for *all* black people." African American respectability politics both cemented the status of community leaders who called for it and "uplifted" others (Agbe-Davies 2011:75).

Anna Agbe-Davies and her students have been conducting archaeological excavations at one of the locations of the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls in Chicago. While a complete analysis of the results remains to be completed, Agbe-Davies provides preliminary results (Agbe-Davies 2011). Noting that the backyard has a higher artifact

density and a more midden-like quality (more food and dining refuse, highly fragmented items, and complex stratification) than the front yard (fewer discrete deposits, fewer artifacts), Agbe-Davies notes that residents of the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls kept the front yard clean and clear of refuse. This was part of the respectability program of the Home; "Black arbiters of respectability were particularly keen that residents in their neighborhoods maintain clean and orderly yards to refute racist expectations of squalor" (Agbe-Davies 2011:76).

Agbe-Davies also presents several possibilities for future research at the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls that can be extended to other social reform sites. For example, referring to the Home as a "semi-institutional space," she calls for a comparison of how assemblages from semi-institutional spaces compare to those of the residences in which the club women (the managers of the Home) lived (Agbe-Davies 2011:76). The work done by Capitanio (2010) regarding the Denison House suggests that there may be little to no difference materially; careful analysis will be required to assess if any differences reflect the fact that Denison House was by and for whites and the Phyllis Wheatley Home was by and for Black women. Personal items were recovered from the Phillis Wheatley Home, including costume jewelry, cosmetics cases, and evidence of quality clothing. Because the club women who supported the home did not live there, she attributes these items to the House residents – who would not have been allowed to wear them to work in, just as they were not permitted to wear their work uniforms in the street. The meaning of these artifacts in this context of non-work time remains to be determined (Agbe-Davies 2011:77-78).

Sailors' Snug Harbor in New York City. A charitable home for retired sailors, the grounds and buildings of Sailors' Snug Harbor were segregated by gender and class (Baugher 2010). Resistance to the rules included evidence of residents drinking where it was not permitted (Baugher 2010). Wiawaka is also a gender-segregated charitable space with rules guiding moral behavior.

Prisons, Workhouses, and Asylums: These are all examples, like Wiawaka Holiday House and other women's holiday houses, of residential reform institutions. Although conceptually distant from vacation holiday houses, these are all places of reform with gender and class segregation that plays out in material ways. For example, at the Ross Female Factory prison in Australia, Eleanor Casella (1999) finds a complex system of gender and class dynamics that played out across the landscape. Various positions of authority were occupied by different genders, with the residence locations of these individuals placed very specifically across the landscape – from cell blocks for inmates to the Superintendent of the prison who lived in a large home outside the prison walls. The social standing of the individuals within the hierarchy was reflected both in the size and location of their residence, and these positions of authority within the hierarchy were strictly gender segregated (Casella 1999:159-165). Similar distribution of identity and power across the landscape was noted in the landscapes of asylums (Longhurst 2017). Evidence of resistance to authority at the Ross Female Factory included hoarding contraband items (Casella 2000); at asylums and workhouses, material resistance to the ideologies of reform also came from the staff (Longhurst 2017; Thomas 2017). Spencer-

Wood and Baugher's (2001) work on powered landscapes will be used to elaborate these examples in the context of Wiawaka and other holiday houses.

In the next chapter, the specific histories of the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House will be elaborated, making reference to the themes and examples spelled out here.

Chapter 3: Histories of the Place

> "Lake George, lovliest of inland waters, no wonder the red man named thee Horicon, "Silver Water," or that the pious French missionaries, the first white discoverers, called thee Lac du St. Sacrement, so pure, so clear, so brilliant are thy waters! … [Here] the pilgrim, seeking what is fairest and sweetest in Nature, is content to abide, sure that nothing can surpass the beauties around him." (Sears 1875:133)

Lake George is part of the St. Lawrence River drainage, but is very close to the drainage divide between it and that of the Hudson River. The Hudson River/Lake George/Lake Champlain/Richelieu River/St. Lawrence River serves as a very direct connection (almost directly north-south) from what is now New York City to what is now Montreal, Canada and beyond. This geography has both defined boundaries between people and been fought over for tactical and economic advantage. Beginning with a general history of the Lake George region that provides the necessary background to understanding how this region became a resort area, this chapter then focuses on the history of the sixty acres of land now occupied by Wiawaka Center for Women (Figure 8).

History of Lake George

Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

Early histories of the Lake George region (Smith 1885) insist that the area "was probably never permanently occupied" by Native Americans, but rather served as seasonal hunting grounds and "used as a highway between hostile northern and western nations" (Smith 1885:31-32). This idea persists in recent histories (i.e. Terrie 1999:3), despite even contemporary evidence to the contrary, including newspaper reports of Native American

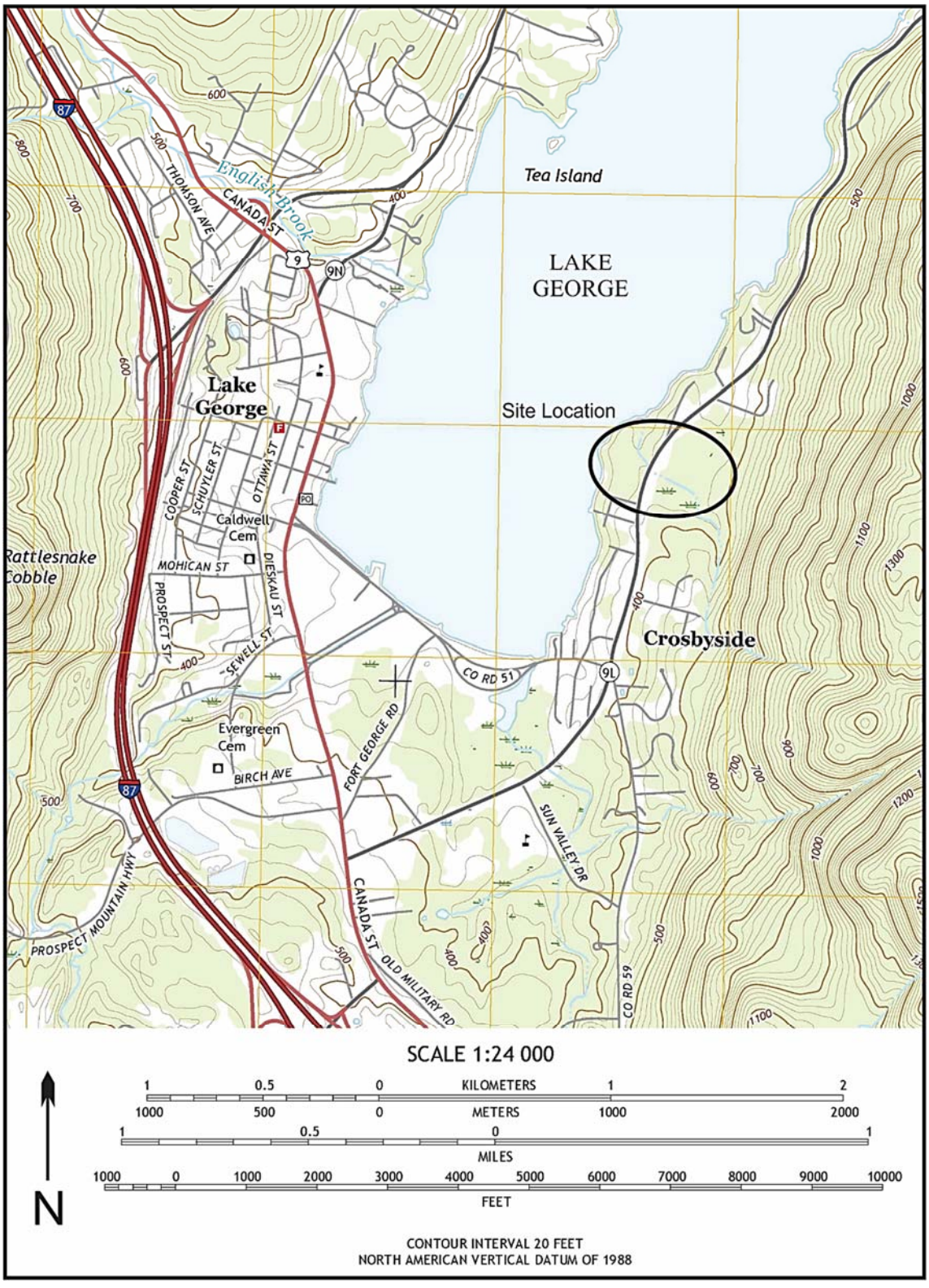

Figure 8: Site location (USGS 2016).

burials, recovery of artifacts, Native American residents, and a plethora of places with Native American place names. The myth that Native Americans did not live in the region at the time of European "discovery" allows both the original settlers and current non-native inhabitants to believe that "the Adirondacks were therefore free for the taking once the whites arrived" (Woods 1994:30; for a detailed investigation of this as it occurred in a nearby river valley, see Bruchac 2007). And yet, explorers and early sportsmen and vacationers in the area relied on "Indian guides" to take them into the interior (Terrie 1999:11-13). At the time of European colonization, people of the Mohawk tribe of the Haudenosaunee were associated with the area now encompassed by Warren County (Smith 1885:32).[5] To the north, along the St. Lawrence River were the Wendat (known by colonial powers as the Huron), who although speakers of an Iroquoian language, were not part of the Haudenosaunee; indeed, the two groups often competed and conflicted with each other in the borderlands. Previously, "anterior to the Iroquois ascendency," according to Smith, the region at the southern end of Lake George was occupied by a tribe "variously known as the Ma-hick-an-ders, Muh-hea-kan-news, Mo-hea-cans, and Wa-ra-na-wan-kongs" whose territory extended from the Connecticut to the Hudson Rivers and as far north as Lake George (Smith 1885:33).

Samuel de Champlain was the first European to note the presence of Lake George in a journal entry dated July 3, 1609. In 1646, Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues was the first

[5] The Haudenosaunee were called by the French the Iroquois League or the Iroquois Confederacy, and by the English, the Five Nations and, after 1722, the Six Nations. The original five nations in the League were the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca; the territory of the Haudenosaunee at the time of French exploration in the region included large areas of what is now New York State west of the Hudson River and north to the St. Lawrence River, south into northwestern Pennsylvania. In 1722, the Tuscarora, displaced from the Carolinas by European settlement, joined the Haudenosaunee making it the Six Nations (Haudenosaunee Confederacy 2017).

European to see Lake George, and named it Lac du Saint-Sacrement (Campbell 1911). Over one hundred years later, in 1755 during the French and Indian War, William Johnson led British forces to occupy the region, renaming the lake Lake George in honor of King George II. Not two weeks after his arrival, on September 8, 1755, the British and their Haudenosaunee allies beat the French at the Battle of Lake George and built Fort William Henry at the head of the lake. Just two years later, in 1757, the French army and their Native American allies laid siege to Fort William Henry; after the British surrendered, the French burnt the fort. As the British forces retreated towards Fort Edward, they were ambushed and massacred (Griffith 2016; Zarzynski and Benway 2011).

The same geography that made Lake George and Lake Champlain so strategically important during the French and Indian War made the region just as important during the American Revolution. Instead of taking to the waters of Lake George to reach the Hudson River, British General John Burgoyne chose to take a land route (Drake 1889:61-67). The delay in making the journey caused by taking the more difficult land route led, in part, to the American victory at Saratoga.

Early Nineteenth Century: The Caldwell Family Landholdings

Before 1903, what is now the village of Lake George was known as Caldwell, after James Caldwell, who bought the patent for 1,595 acres of land at the southern end of Lake George from Udney Hay in 1787. Caldwell continued purchasing land throughout the rest of his life, acquiring more than 9,000 acres before his death in 1829 (Corbett

2001:42). In 1803, Caldwell laid out the village and built himself a large home next to the courthouse and overlooking the lake (Corbett, 2001:43). Aware of the economic benefits of tourism from his previous residence in Ballston Spa, Caldwell tried almost immediately to bring tourism to Lake George, offering his home of twelve rooms, stable, coach house, and large garden for lease as a guest house:

> built for the accommodation of Gentlemen and Ladies, frequenting this most beautiful Sheet of Water, for health or pleasure…. The numerous visitors to Ballstown Springs [Ballston Spa], for summer recreation, have ever evinced a disposition to spend a portion of their time at this delightful Lake; and there can be no doubt, if the abovementioned House was in proper hands, with the commence of two or three pleasure boats, the Lake would become as fashionable a retreat as the Springs (*Evening Post* 1803).

By 1818, we know that visitors were staying in the house; by 1828, it became known as the Lake House (Corbett 2001:47). Tourism and recreation at Lake George began as a business venture undertaken by a white, elite landholder who targeted his elite, white contemporaries as a market. These elites were industrial capitalists, who, with their growing wealth, spent summers at the fashionable Ballston Spa and Saratoga Springs, seeing and being seen as they strolled the streets and verandahs (Corbett 2001).

Other early accommodations for visitors included Bellevue House, about half a mile north of what is now the Village of Lake George, and Caldwell's Lake George Coffee House, both of which were present by 1813 (*Evening Post* 1813:1). Despite written pieces in newspapers exclaiming the beauty of Lake George, tourism remained sparse until the late 1820s. Author James Fenimore Cooper visited Lake George in 1824 and 1825, and was inspired to set what became his bestselling novel, *Last of the Mohicans* at Lake George (calling it Lake Horicon) during the siege, capture, and massacre of the

British at Fort William Henry. Shortly thereafter, Cooper's acquaintance, Thomas Cole – prompted by a demand for images from *Last of the Mohicans* -- visited Lake George and painted several landscapes. This was the beginning of the development of the Adirondacks in the American Imaginary as a sublime wilderness, "an ancient land untouched – or at least not inordinately corrupted – by the gritty realities of urban, industrial civilization" (Terrie 1999:xvii). Where the modern world was corrupt and corrupting, nature was reformative. At the same time, the region was developing a reputation as an ideal hunting and fishing ground for middle and upper class urban men who hired "Indian guides" to take them into the interior for recreation and rejuvenation – to "recapture the vigor of body and soul weakened by the stresses of modern life" (Terrie 1999:12; see also Schuster 2011). The workers themselves – neither the employees of the middle class managerial and upper owner classes nor those who lived and traveled to work in the Adirondacks providing lodging, services, and guides -- were at first able to take advantage of nature in the healing and restorative Adirondacks. The authentic experience of being in the Adirondack wilderness (rather than reading about it or viewing reproduced paintings of the landscape) was limited to the wealthy. And yet, this "authentic experience" was at least partially manufactured. Not all "Indian" guides for hire were Native American; many were Europeans who had settled in the area and for whom guiding was only part of their yearly income (Terrie 1999:xix, 5-11). Referring to all guides as "Indian guides," however, did support the illusion of the region as wild and untamed (by whites), despite the already long history of Europeans and African Americans in the area and the fact that people were living in the area year-round.

The village of Caldwell began to prosper from the resulting tourism from the late 1820s (Corbett 2001:45-46), with guests staying in private homes before commercial lodgings were built (Terrie 1999:40). Based on early romantic images of the region, Lake George and the Adirondacks became part of the "American Grand Tour" travel craze spurred by the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 and an expanding network of railroads (for a description of how this played out in other areas of the Northeast, see Brown 1989). Several "Grand Tour" guidebooks were published describing places and landscapes throughout the region, as well as natural wonders like Niagara Falls, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, Virginia's natural springs, and the Hudson River Highlands (Terrie 1999:44). The Reverend Joel T. Headley, a Protestant minister who traveled to the Adirondacks in the 1840s after having a nervous breakdown, wrote one of the most influential wilderness travel narratives about the Adirondack region, *The Adirondack; or, Life in the Woods.* Published in 1849, the book painted a romantic picture of the region with spiritual and religious overtones about the immanence of divinity in nature and its healing effect on the soul. Building on the earlier romanticism of Coopers *Last of the Mohicans*, Headly's work drew people (elites as well as increasing members of the managerial middle class) to the area in droves. These ideas about the Adirondack region have persisted since then, and can still be found in narratives used to entice visitors to the region (Terrie 1999:45-46).

The wider development of tourism at Lake George was hampered in part by the difficulty in reaching the place, and also by Caldwell's tight control of the land. From Albany, New York to Caldwell in 1835 (an hour's drive on today's interstate) required a coach from

Albany to Schenectady; a train to Saratoga Springs; and then another stagecoach to Lake George (Corbett 2001:48). William Caldwell worked to make the trip worth it for the leisure classes taking their Grand Tours, and expanded Lake House with a bathhouse, a wharf, and a new wing overlooking the lake (Corbett 2001:48-49). His endeavor was successful, and in 1842, Lake House was noted as being "full of fashionable New Yorkers" (Krattinger 2013). Most visitors came to Lake George to enjoy the restorative nature of the place, but were not interested in engaging with nature's realities. Local residents and municipalities recognized this, and early in the nineteenth century, every town and county in the Adirondack region had passed ordinances and established bounties for the killing of mountain lions and wolves (Terrie 1999:43). Regardless of the actual threat these animals posed to visitors (arguably little to none), they, like the Native Americans who were described as ancient and gone from the area, were powerful symbols of the wild-ness of the area. The result was a carefully created, curated, and performed simulacrum of nature and wildness – an ideology of the American Imaginary – that was presented to and engaged with by visitors as real, timeless, and essential in nature. In terms of Third Space, it was created and naturalized in tension with the urban, "civilized" lives of middle and upper class capitalists.

Late Nineteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Centuries: Railroads, Roadways, and the Creation of the Adirondack Park

Unlike developers in nearby resorts like Ballston Spa or Saratoga Springs, both Joseph and William Caldwell refused to sell their land, and instead leased it. Without owning the land, investors were less inclined to improve it. It was only after leases began to expire

after William's death in 1848 that William's heirs began to sell land, opening up possibilities for additional entrepreneurs to court a tourist market (Corbett 2001:44, 48-51). Further supporting the development of a tourist economy at Lake George was the laying of a plank road from Glens Falls to Lake George in 1848, making the trip somewhat faster (Corbett 2001:51).

As a result, several new resorts, including the United States Hotel on the Wiawaka property, were built and more and more people took the trains as far north as they could, finishing their travels by stagecoach over plank roads to Lake George to experience the "natural" wild beauty of the place. By this time, despite the continued reference to "Indian guides" taking visitors into the Adirondack interior, the perception was that Native Americans "were seldom seen in the Eastern United States, except on reservations" (Terrie 1999:13). This erasure of Native American presence in the area allowed writers, artists, and visitors to sentimentalize and romanticize them as natural and noble; to literally embed them into the Adirondack landscape. Emmons, the first surveyor of the Adirondack region was actually criticized for naming features in the region after European Americans (Terrie 1999:13-14).

Most of the new construction took place on the western side of the lake. In 1875, Caldwell was described as "a little hamlet whose chief industry is the reception and accommodation of summer visitors, and which is largely composed of hotels" (Sears 1875:134-135). These hotels replaced the "rugged" camping trips of Lake George's early days, during which the "Indian" guides served as navigators, cooks, waiters, and valets as

well as being responsible for the setup of camp (today, we refer to this as “glamping;” Koch 2016). These new hotels served as the centers of refined and pretentious social scenes, where visitors could see and be seen by more people than if they were out in the woods. Those looking for more rugged experiences in the wild traveled into the interior Adirondacks (Figure 9; Terrie 1999:67-68).

Figure 9: Hunting in the Adirondacks. Postcard in the collection of the author.

In 1882, the railroad arrived at Lake George, opening the area up for a much larger population of vacationers. The Delaware & Hudson Company owned both the Fort William Henry Hotel at the head of Lake George and several steamboats that plied the lake. They built the line from Glens Falls to Lake George, terminating it on their steamboat docks directly in front of their hotel (Krattinger 2013). From Glens Falls, the line connected to Albany and from there south to New York City, making Lake George easily accessible from great distances (Krattinger 2013). Stagecoaches and steamboats

connected the railroad to individual hotels and boarding houses all along the lake (Terrie 1999:66). This increased travel network opened the region to an increasing population of middle class vacationers. It was not uncommon for families to vacation for several weeks with women and children staying at the lake and the male head of household returning to the city to work during the week, or for families to take weekend trips. This easier access and the resulting increase in tourism was in part behind the creation of the Adirondack Park, established in 1892 and expanded several times since. Adirondack Park now contains over 2.4 million acres of land, much of which, including the Wiawaka Holiday House grounds, is privately owned, governed through a regional zoning plan (Terrie 1999:xvi-xvii). Part of the argument for the founding of Adirondack Park was also very gendered; at a time when there was a perception of declining masculinity among American men, the return to nature, "where healthy sports and vigorous exercise would restore the national will" (Terrie 1999:63), the Adirondacks was a prime location.

Native Americans, African Americans, and the Creation of Whiteness. As tourism increased in the area, the idea that the beauty of the region was inherently healing and redemptive persisted, as did the connection to the noble savagery and inherent naturalness of the (assumed) long-dead Native Americans of the region. The connections between nature and European settlement and the mystique of Native Americans were solidified in the geographies of places given Indian names. These places, wrote Washington Irving, "have the merit of originality, and of belonging to the country; and they would remain as relics of the native lords of the soil, when every other vestige had disappeared" (Irving in Herman 2015a); in other words, they linked the American nation

to the American land (Vine Deloria in Herman 2015b:28). In 1904, Walt Whitman wrote about "the strange charm of aboriginal names," describing them as "savage and luxuriant" (Whitman 1904 in Herman 2015a; see also Herman 2015b:26). Ironically, many of the "Indian names" that whites applied to their towns, villages, streams, roadways, hills, and valleys were mispronunciations of Native American languages. Webster (of the Webster dictionary) defended these mispronunciations explicitly in terms of Native American savagery and white supremacy: "Nor ought the harsh guttural sounds of the natives be retained… Where popular practice has softened and abridged words of this kind the change has been made in conformity with the genius of our own language, which is accommodated to a civilized people…" (Webster in Herman 2015a). Other "Indian" names were invented out of whole cloth (Herman 2015a, 2015b). These naming practices further distanced actual Native American culture and people from the romantic and idyllic notion that underpinned much of the white perception of the Adirondacks as pristine, noble, natural, and healing.

Colonized and sanitized, the association of Indians and Indian culture with children became popular by the early 1900s. One place that this white performance of Indian-ness played out was in the use of Indian culture and naming (as imagined and essentialized by whites) by the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and other organizations for their campgrounds, troops, and ceremonies. "Interest in real Indians, however, remained low. It was the noble-savage Indian of the past that stirred the soul of the dominant society" (Herman 2015a, 2015b:29-30). It is no coincidence that this essentialized performance of Indianness as a shorthand for innocence, nobility, and a tamed nature became "safe"

enough to apply to children in the early twentieth century, nor that the "shorthand" symbol of this Indianness (tipis and feather headdresses) was based on Plains cultures. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, carried on iron rails, thousands of (predominantly white) Americans streamed west looking for land and profit. This brought them into direct conflict with Native Americans in the region. The U.S. Military was called in, and Native Americans were massacred and otherwise forcibly removed from their lands. Well-known battles of the Western Indian Wars included Little Bighorn and Wounded Knee; battles that took place on the Plains against people of the Plains, the Lakota and Apache, respectively (National Museum of American History 2017). Also by 1885, "Buffalo Bill" Cody had taken his Wild West show on the road. By the time it ended, the company had toured the United States repeatedly, as well as playing to international audiences throughout Europe. Hundreds of thousands of people saw Cody's shows, and even more read about them (see, for example, Warren 2006).

The Native American life that Cody portrayed was that of people who lived on the Plains. Cultural aspects of these groups, including tipis and feathers, became shorthand for "Indian" regardless of actual cultural affiliation. By 1890, Native Americans had been forcibly resettled onto government-controlled reservations, dependent, like children, on the American government for food, clothing, and other supplies. Along with this came attempts to "Americanize" Native Americans (read: instill white middle class values) through, among other approaches, the forced removal of children from their families and communities. These children were sent to residential schools, which had the stated policy to "kill the Indian, save the Man" (Bear 2008; National Museum of American History

2017). The “threat” of Native Americans had become neutralized; “reduced” to childlike dependence on the government, Native Americans became "safe.”

While the majority of resort-goers in and around Lake George were white, there is an African American history that has been left out of the main narrative of the place -- a silence that essentializes the whiteness of the vacation experience in the area even though there is documentary and photographic evidence of African Americans living and working in the area. Despite most histories of the region which neglect to mention them, African Americans have a “long attenuated presence” in the area; “Few as they were, African-Americans grew up with Adirondack history, belonged to it and did their part to make it” (Godine 2014). This history goes back at least to the French and Indian War, when a group of French-allied Abenaki raided Fort Saratoga (now Schuylerville) on the Hudson River, taking approximately 100 captives (half of whom were Black) to Quebec; Black veterans of the Revolutionary War were granted land in the region; African Americans from the area served during the Civil War; Black labor worked in the mines and forests when better roads opened the Adirondacks to logging and mining (iron and graphite); Black laborers were brought up from the South to lay track for the Adirondack railroad; and there were Black homesteaders and business owners throughout the region (Godine 2014; Warren 2007). African Americans also worked area resorts as cooks, wait staff, chauffeurs, musicians, laundresses, etc. Indeed, an 1879 photo by Seneca Ray Stoddard called “The Color Line” shows African Americans on the piazza of the Fort William Henry Hotel; below, leaning on a railing, are over a dozen African American men. These are presumably hotel staff, divided perhaps by housekeeping and other inside

staff (on the piazza) and grounds or horse keepers (along the fence) (Figure 10; *Lake George Mirror Magazine* 2012). Once you start looking, the presence of African Americans at Lake George resorts becomes visible (Figure 11; see also Figure 46; see Bradwell 2015 for an example of finally seeing what has been there the whole time, in the context of the area around Ithaca, New York). This work was usually seasonal, and much of the Black staff were transient (though some stayed) – often coming north from hotel work in the South, which declined during the hottest summer months, and then returning south during the winter (Godine 2014; for a detailed look at African Americans in predominantly white resort communities including nearby Saratoga Springs, see Armstead 1999). There was also a nineteenth century African American settlement in the Adirondacks, founded by white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (Kruczek-Aaron 2010).

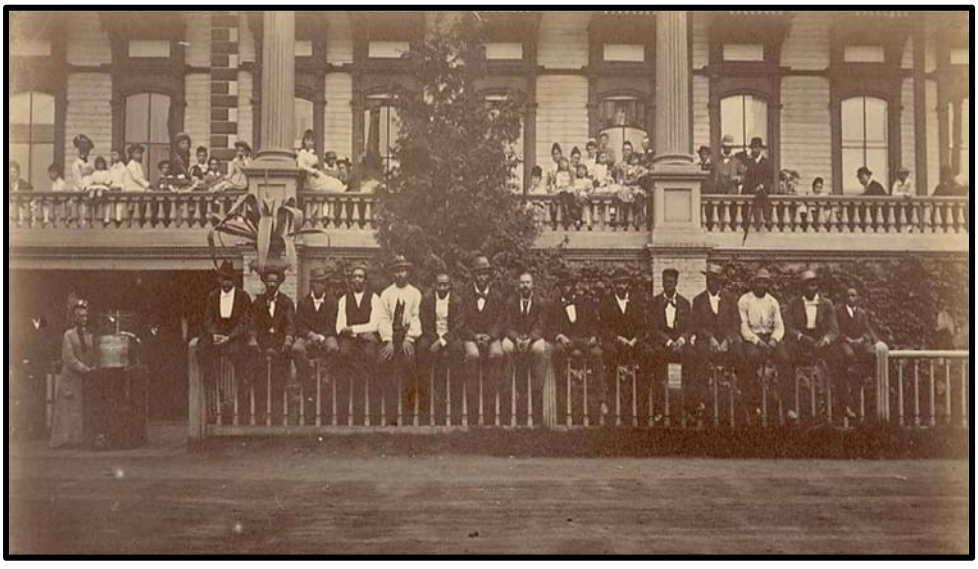

Figure 10: "The Color Line," Fort William Henry Hotel. Photograph, Seneca Ray Stoddard, 1879. Courtesy of the New York State Museum (H-1972.84.151).

Figure 11: Goodbye – Coach at Fort William Henry Hotel. Photograph by Seneca Ray Stoddard, c. 1875. Courtesy of the Adirondack Museum (P29930).

In the 1920s, Lake George was racially segregated. Black tourists, wait staff, and servants who worked at the white hotels stayed at the Black-owned Woodbine Hotel in the village of Lake George. The clientele of owners Sam and Dorothy McFerson were largely African Americans coming up to Lake George from Saratoga, but they also hosted Black entertainers who could perform (but not stay) at other venues, including Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and Sammy Davis Jr. (Godine 2014; Warren 2007). Segregation was enforced in Lake George by the locals, including members of the Ku Klux Klan (Warren 2007). Just as the absence of Native Americans made the region "tame," the service work of African Americans was integral to the identification of Lake George (both ideologically and actually) as a white middle class vacation destination.

Mid-Twentieth Century Onwards: Age of Automobiles

The railroad sustained tourism in the Adirondacks and the Lake George region through the middle of the twentieth century, when the interstate system and improvements in other roads and automobiles reduced and replaced the demand for rail travel. In November 1957, passenger service to Lake George was discontinued and the railway station was sold (Krattinger 2013; Terrie 1999). It now houses the Lake George Steamboat Company gift shop. With modern cars and highways, the trip from Albany to Lake George takes only an hour.

Lake George continues to be a summer resort town, with hotels and motels lining State Route 9, along with amusements like wax museums, arcades, restaurants and bars, ice cream shops, and souvenir stands. A replica of Fort William Henry built on top of the original foundations is a popular tourist destination, and the State of New York provides picnic and camping grounds on what were once the Garrison Grounds. Tourism is highest in the summer, with many of the attractions closing for the winter months, though the town is working to increase winter visitorship with winter festivals and ice fishing.

Wiawaka Center for Women Landscape

Wiawaka Center for Women is located on what is currently a sixty-acre parcel of land on the east side of Lake George, Warren County, New York (Figure 12). Privately owned, it is located inside the boundary of New York's Adirondack State Park. Most of the activity areas, including lodgings, boat house, activity buildings, gardens, and lawns occupy approximately 20 acres of gently sloping grounds along 1,500 feet of Lake George

waterfront.[6] A small stream with associated wetlands supports ferns and spotted jewelweed (*Impatiens capensis*) as it winds through the sun and shade of the plateau before being channelized in stone and draining into Lake George underneath the House of Trix, built circa 1904 as a bathhouse. This area is bordered on the east by State Route 9L. Beyond the road are an additional forty acres with gently sloping woodlands and fields of wildflowers including milkweed (*Asclepias*) and Queen Anne's lace (*Daucus Carota*) transitioning to the wooded, heavily-bouldered, and steeply-sloped western face of French Mountain.[7] Pine trees are the most common in the wooded areas of both the plateau and French Mountain; cedar, white birch, and the odd hardwood such as maple or oak are also present. Bedrock outcrops are found across the property, suggesting relatively shallow soils.

Much of the property is currently wooded, save areas surrounding many of the extant buildings on the lake-side of the property and an area of cleared field and wildflowers on the west side of Route 9L. Most of the extant structures are located on the west side of Route 9L (Figure 13). Current structures include five guest houses (Fuller House, Rose Cottage, Mayflower Cottage, Lake House, and Wakonda Lodge; Figures 14 through 17), the caretakers' house (Pine Cottage; Figure 18), the boathouse and dock (Figure 19), a screened-in gazebo, an activity space (House of Trix; Figure 20), and the former ice

[6] Soils of the plateau area: ChB, Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes, well-drained prime farmland. Warren County, New York soil survey, http://websoilsurvey.nrcs.usda.gov/app/WebSoilSurvey.aspx

[7] Soils of the area east of Route 9L are predominantly BdC, Bide very boulder fine sandy loam, sloping, a well-drained soil not considered prime farmland – particularly to the south and northeast. In the northern portion are large areas of En, Elnora loamy fine sand (moderately well-drained prime farmland) and OaB, Oakville loamy fine sand, 3 to 8 percent slopes (well-drained prime farmland). The steeply-sloped face of French Mountain is BdE, Bice very boulder fine sandy loam, steep (well-drained, not prime farmland). Warren County, New York soil survey, http://websoilsurvey.nrcs.usda.gov/app/WebSoilSurvey.aspx

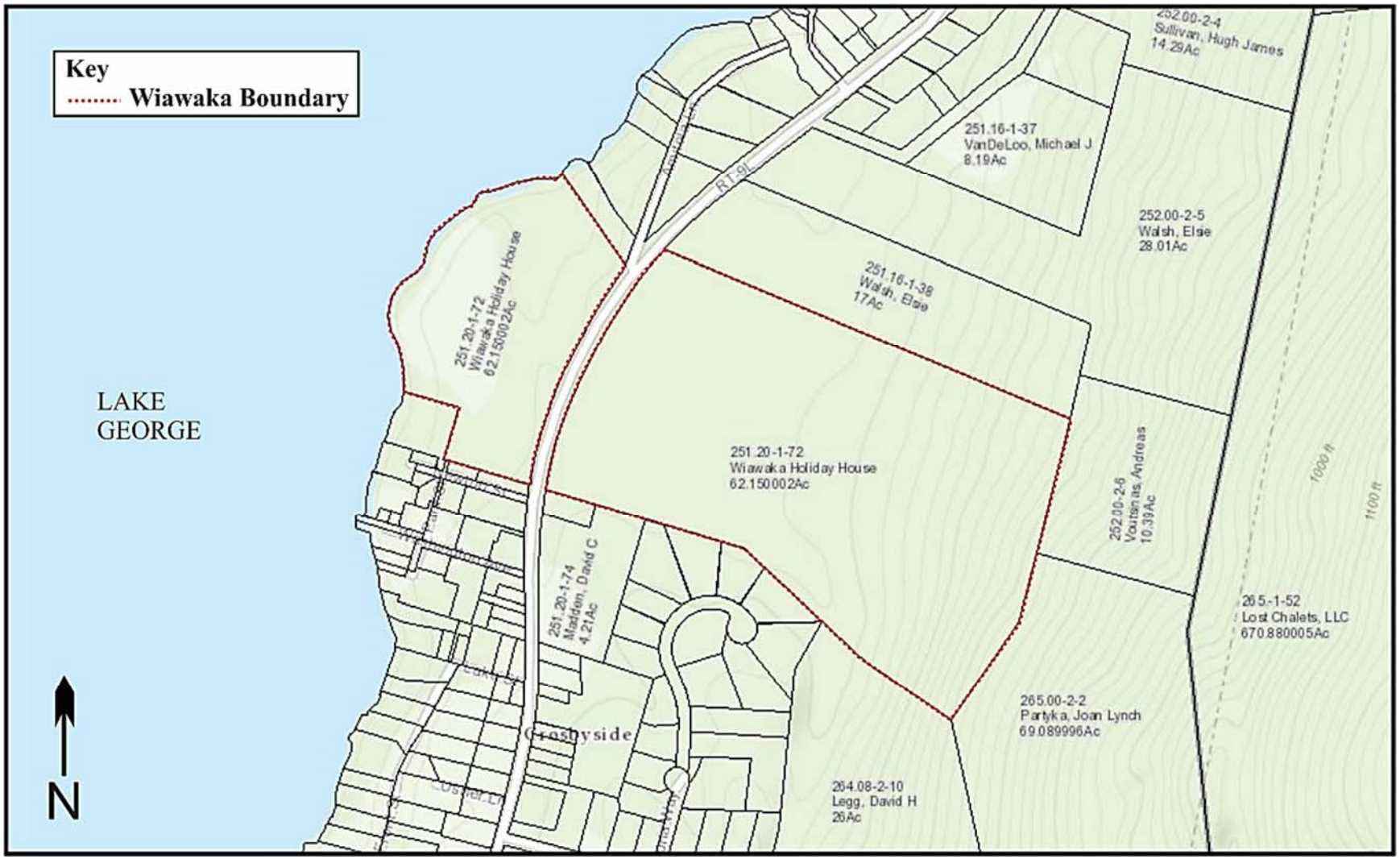

Figure 12: Property boundary, Wiawaka Center for Women. Warren County GIS.

house now used for storage and as the lab space during excavations (Figure 21). A second dock, used only by staff, is located just south and west of Fuller House. On the west side of Route 9L is an early twentieth century dairy barn now used as a garage and shed (Figure 22). Visible ruins on the property include a stone foundation just north of Pine Cottage and west of the ice house; a water reservoir/spring house south of Pine Cottage; and a large rectangular depression in the woods just southwest of Lake House (Figure 23). There are two gravel access roads onto the property: the first, just north of the southern property line, brings cars to a parking area at Fuller House; the second provides access to Pine Cottage, and then branches, with one route crossing the stream and ending at Fuller House and the other extending north through the woods to Wakonda Lodge. Another gravel drive runs along the western edge of the woodlands from Fuller House to Lake House. Lawn areas for recreation extend north of Fuller House to just past the Lake House; a wooded path carries visitors to House of Trix and then to another clearing in front of Wakonda Lodge. A large vegetable garden maintained by volunteer Gail Oakes is located in rich soil northeast of Fuller House; just north of the garden is a stone-lined labyrinth for meditation.

History of the Wiawaka Property

Human occupation of the property now known as the Wiawaka Center for Women goes back at least 8,000 years. During this time, the property was the location of pre-contact Native American occupation; events associated with the colonial French and Indian War; a short-lived mid-nineteenth century hotel; a short-lived young lady's institute; a long-running hotel resort; an artist colony; and Wiawaka Holiday House/Wiawaka Center for

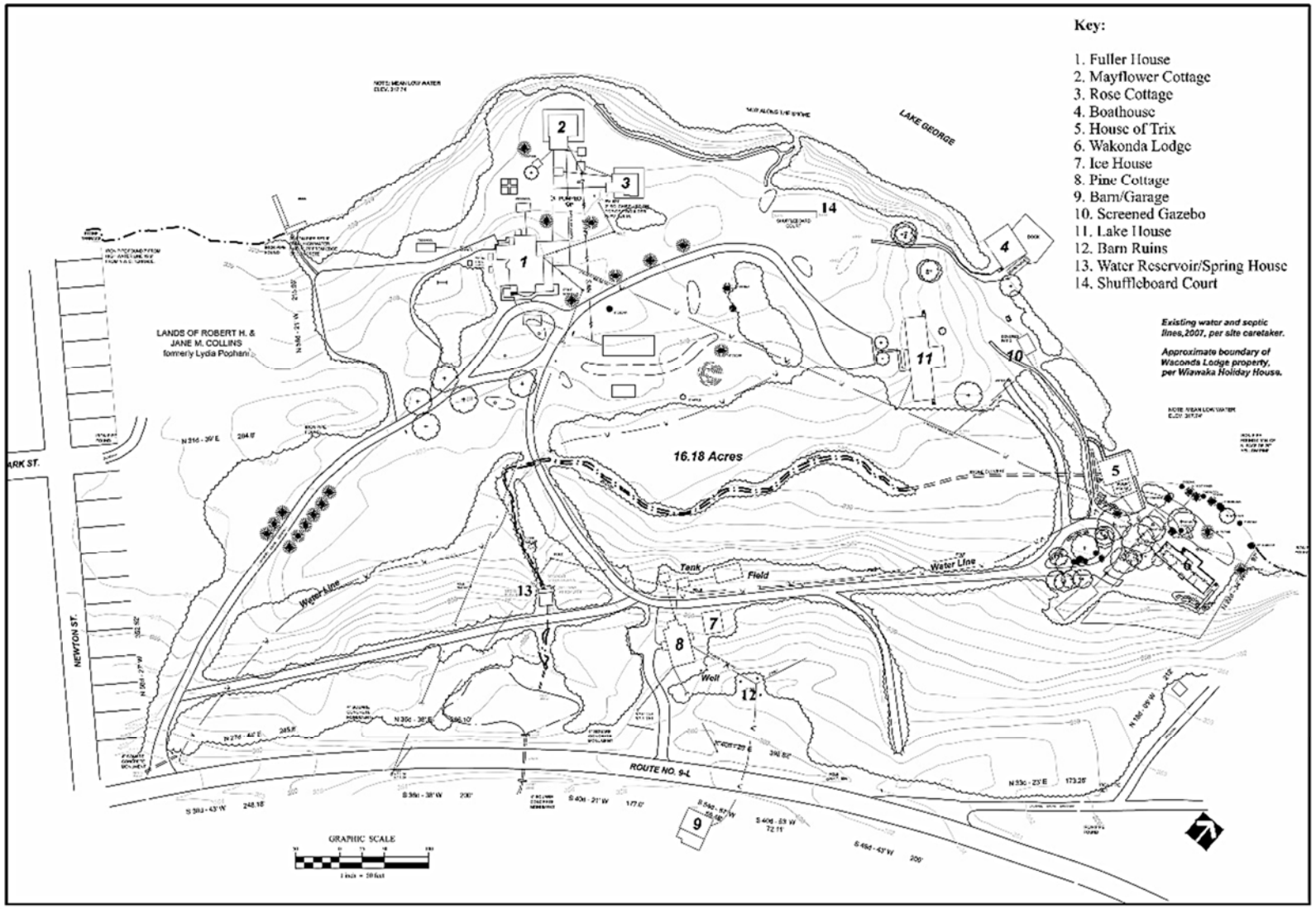

Figure 13: Existing structures, Wiawaka Center for Women.

Figure 14: Fuller House. Postcard in collection of the author.

Figure 15: Rose Cottage, with an X marking where the writer stayed. Postcard, dated 1936. Collection of the author.

Figure 16: Lake House. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 17: Wakonda Lodge. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 18: Pine Cottage. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 19: Boathouse. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 20: House of Trix. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 21: Ice house. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 22: Cow barn, now used as a workshop and garage. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 23: Privy depression in Area 2. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Women, the longest continuously-operating women's retreat in the United States (Sayers 1998). The following summary of the Wiawaka property history places it into the broader history of the region, and serves as a backdrop against which to understand the results of the archaeology.

Pre-Contact Indigenous

Research in advance of excavations at Wiawaka was conducted at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) and the New York State Museum (NYSM) in 2011. These record searches identified six pre-contact archaeological sites within a one-mile radius of the Wiawaka property. Wiawaka is located within the mapped boundaries of pre-contact site A11302.000006 (NYSM 5082), recorded in the 1920s by state archaeologist Arthur Parker. It encompasses about 1.5 miles of the eastern Lake George shoreline, and is described as "traces of occupation," meaning scattered finds of pre-contact materials, but no concentrations suggesting settlements. The remaining five pre-contact sites are all three quarters of a mile or more from the Wiawaka property. They include: A11341.000009 (NYSM 5081), a pre-contact burial also described by Parker; A11341.000010 (NYSM 5077), a pre-contact village; A11341.000019, a human burial (assumed to be pre-contact); NYSM 8887, traces of pre-contact occupation; and NYSM 9024, identified only as a pre-contact site with no further information.

In August of 2013, a pre-contact archaeological site was discovered that puts lie to Smith's (1885) assertion that there was only sporadic Native American occupation in the

Lake George region. Just under one mile south of the Wiawaka property at the head of Lake George, archaeologists were testing an area around the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation Million Dollar Beach complex, including the parking lot and campground in advance of road improvements (Reith 2013). Initial excavations determined that the site is several acres in size and resulted in the recovery of thousands of pre-contact artifacts, including those dating from the Early Archaic (10,000 to 8,000 years before present) and the Late Archaic (6,000 to 3,500 years before present). In addition to thousands of flakes, artifacts recovered include twenty-eight whole and broken bifaces; eleven whole and broken projectile points (bifurcate, Genessee, and Lamoka), spokeshaves, utilized flakes, a drill, and a uniface. Materials represented at the site include Onondaga chert, Normanskill chert, Mt. Merino chert, quartzite, jasper, and argillite. Clusters of artifacts "comprised primarily of local chert available only a few hundred feet away in the side of Fort George Hill" suggest at least two possible workshop locations at the Million Dollar Beach site. Artifacts associated with the French and Indian War's Fort William Henry, located just west of Million Dollar Beach, were also recovered (Reith 2013).

Artifacts had previously been recovered at the Million Dollar Beach location. In 1914, Professor Edward Clark from Knox College, Illinois recovered items from this area. These included a hammerstone, flakes and finished artifacts that led him to conclude that "there was an arrow manufactory near the waterway's southeast corner" (Zarzynski 2014). Clark also recovered Native American pottery, indicating that occupation in the area extended into the Woodland period, when Native American groups developed

ceramics, agriculture, and began living in permanent village settlements (Zarzynski 2014; see also Ritchie 1965).

A single compliance survey at Wiawaka (Black 2007) is the only previous archaeological survey conducted on the property. Done in advance of structural and landscape work around Wakonda Lodge at the northern end of the property, a series of shovel test pits were excavated at 5m intervals within the project area. A single, isolated pre-contact flake was recovered – consistent with the traces of occupation recorded for site A11302.000006 -- as well as a few historic artifacts. None of the artifacts or deposits were associated with the early history of Wakonda Lodge or Wiawaka, and no significant deposits were identified (Black 2007:4).

French and Indian War

The French and Indian War (1754-1763) (also called the Seven Years' War) was a long-running territorial battle between the English and the French and their various Native American allies. Begun in Europe, the conflict's North American arena stretched from Virginia all the way north to Nova Scotia, Canada and inland west to the Ohio River Valley. The Lake George/Lake Champlain corridor was a critically important navigable water route connecting the interior colonies to the St. Lawrence River -- a northern route to the Atlantic Ocean and therefore supplies, colonists, and military support from Europe. The southern end of Lake George was also near the headwaters of the Hudson River drainage that extended south to what is now New York City.[8] Both the English and the

[8] While Albany, New York is the head of Hudson River navigation for larger boats, smaller vessels like canoes could travel much further upriver.

French wanted control of this route and the territory surrounding it, and several French and Indian War battles took place in the area, including the Battle of Lake George (Griffith 2016; Zarzynski and Benway 2011).

Research in 2011 at the NYSM and OPHRP identified five historic archaeological sites located within a one-mile radius of the Wiawaka Center for Women property associated with the French and Indian War. Four of these are located at the southernmost end of Lake George: Fort George (A11302.000005; NYSM 4491); the location of the 1758 British advance guard and dock (A11302.000032); and Fort William Henry (A11341.000002). The Montcalm Street Site, also associated with the French and Indian War, is located within what is now the Village of Lake George, across the lake from the Wiawaka property.[9]

Archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that the Wiawaka property may contain deposits associated with the French and Indian War. Just a few feet from Wiawaka's main dock, lying in water twenty to forty-five feet deep, are seven sunken British ships known as the Wiawaka Bateaux and as the Sunken Fleet of 1758. Bateaux ranged from twenty-five to forty feet long, were flat-bottomed and pointed at both the bow and stern. Made from oak frames with pine planks, they were steered by an oar at the stern, and could be rowed, poled in shallow water, or fitted with a mast and sailed to transport people and goods (Zarzynski and Benway 2011). In early fall of 1757, the English Fort William Henry at the southernmost end of Lake George, was destroyed by

[9] A sixth historic archaeological site, the nineteenth-century Glens Falls-Lake George Railroad Depot (A11341.000011), is located near Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George.

the French and their allies. Without their fortifications, the British were unable to secure their vessels from French raids during the winter. To save their fleet, the British sank it. Over 260 British and provincial vessels were sunk, singly and in clusters, in waters up to approximately twenty feet deep throughout Lake George, where they remained protected by the winter ice. Approximately three-quarters of the sunken fleet was raised in the spring of 1758. Several boats, including the seven bateaux off the shores of Wiawaka and the floating gun battery the *Land Tortoise* were not recovered (Zarzynski and Benway 2011). One theory is that as they sank, they drifted deeper than was intended, making them too difficult to recover.

The first scientific study of the Wiawaka bateaux was by archaeological diver Terry Crandall in 1963 and 1964 for the Adirondack Museum. This cluster of bateaux was mapped and surveyed by the organization Bateaux Below from 1987 to 1991 (Zarzynski and Benway 2011). In 1993, these were incorporated into the shipwreck preserve administered for the State of New York by the Department of Environmental Conservation. As part of the preserve, there is a mooring buoy, underwater signage, and a rope so that divers can find all of the wrecks in the sometimes very murky waters of Lake George (divers may also access the wrecks from the Wiawaka property, with advance notice). In 1997, a replica bateau filled with stones (as the original fleet would have been when sunk) was installed at the southern end of the cluster (Knoerl 2009).

So close to the Wiawaka shoreline, it is entirely possible that the British soldiers who sank the boats returned to dry land on the property now belonging to Wiawaka. It has

been suggested that the Wiawaka property may have been the location of more intensive military occupation (Sayers 1998). A 1917 map drawn by Harriet A. Bently depicting battle grounds between Lake George and Fort Edward from 1646 to 1783 shows a large, horseshoe of land extending from the west bank of Lake George, around the head of the lake, and along the eastern side that is marked "Garrison Ground" (Bently 1917). Contemporary maps, however, show the encampment (garrison) associated with the Fort located on a rise of land east of the fort walls, but not extending up the eastern side of Lake George (Eyre and Heath c.1755). Based on this information, it is possible that some French and Indian War materials will be found on the Wiawaka property.

United States Hotel

The first permanent structure on what is now the Wiawaka property was the United States Hotel, built in 1853 by Daremus and Dixon of New York City (Corbett 2001:52; Tolles Jr. 2003:40-41; Warren County Historical Society 2009:248). The United States Hotel was among the first wave of hotel resorts built on Lake George following the death of Caldwell and the division of his estate by his heirs (Tolles Jr., 2003:51), and when constructed, had all the latest amenities including bell pulls and baths (Warren County Historical Society 2009:248). Given its mirroring of the shield portion of the Great Seal of the United States of America, approved by Congress in 1782 (Patterson and Dougall 1976), the shield-shaped room number recovered from one of the gardens at Wiawaka Holiday House likely dates from the United States Hotel (Figure 24). The expansive and luxurious Fort William Henry Hotel, completed in 1855, quickly put the United States

Hotel out of business (Figure 25; Corbett 2001:52; Tolles Jr., 2003:40-41; Warren County Historical Society 2009:248).

Figure 24: Hotel room number recovered from one of the Wiawaka gardens. Wiawaka Holiday House archives. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Lake George Young Ladies' Institute

In 1855, following the failure of the United States Hotel, Mrs. Lydia Palmer Brayton and Miss Julia Smalley of Caldwell (now the Village of Lake George) signed a lease for the United States Hotel building for three years. Taking occupation on April 1, 1855, the two women opened the Lake George Young Ladies' Institute (Brayton 1938). Privately run institutes like this one were common in the nineteenth century, and taught young women

Figure 25: Fort William Henry Hotel, ca. 1870-1885. Photograph by Seneca Ray Stoddard, from the Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views, New York Public Library (G91F121_003F).

how to be ladies: middle class manners and pursuits, often as well as refined scholarly pursuits like languages and literature (for an archaeological example, see Gall and Veit 2016). Mrs. Brayton's husband, John, was active in the business management of the school. While the hotel was leased furnished, he purchased additional supplies, including food (40 bushels of potatoes, 50 pounds of butter, 200 pounds of meat), supplies (90 gallons of soap), livestock to provide food and perhaps training on animal husbandry (a lamb, one cow, seven pigs, and the use of two cows), and some furnishings (study desks, mattresses and pillows, a parlor stove, and a cook stove) among other things. This is the first documented example of farming on-site to provide meat and dairy for the table as

well as animals for market – a circumstance that continues throughout the property's history.

Fewer than thirty pupils attended the Lake George Young Ladies' Institute, and they closed after their first year (Cianfarano 2014; Goodwin 1963:3). According to their lease, if the property owner was able to rent the hotel property for more favorable terms, they were required to offer Mrs. Brayton and Miss Smalley the right of first refusal to meet the better terms (Brayton 1938). The son of Mrs. Brayton, who wrote to Wiawaka with this information and a copy of the lease, recalls that the owners of the United States Hotel property sold it to the party or company who then opened it as the Crosbyside Hotel (Brayton 1938), suggesting that Mrs. Brayton and Miss Smalley were unable to purchase the property after their first year.

Crosbyside Hotel

Although the Lake George Young Ladies' Institute did not open in the old United States Hotel in 1857, it seems that neither did a hotel. An advertisement in a New York City newspaper dated August 7, 1857 announces that the "beautifully located Hotel, and Farm attached, known as the UNITED STATES HOTEL, Lake George" was going to be sold at auction on August 24. Also to be sold were "a number of large VILLA LOTS, beautifully located, in natural groves, convenient to the Hotel, and commanding the most extensive views of the Lake and surrounding mountains." Francis G. Crosby was on the premises to help anyone interested in purchasing a lot select the best one (*New York Tribune* 1857). It seems likely that Crosby was the buyer of the old United States Hotel

property at the auction; however, he may not have named the property the Crosbyside right away: an 1858 map shows it as the United States Hotel (Chase 1858).

Francis Crosby was born on June 23, 1810 in Putnam County, New York. When he married his wife Elisabeth Ann is unknown, but on October 9, 1838, they had their first child, Ida Elizabeth, who was born in Putnam County. By early 1840, the Crosbys had moved to Caldwell, where Elizabeth gave birth to their second child. Francis and Elizabeth ultimately had fourteen children; half of whom died before they were twenty-five years old; four before their second birthday. In 1850, Francis Crosby is recorded twice in the census: on July 5, he is recorded in Caldwell as a shoe manufacturer, living with his wife and nine of their children, as well as Ebenezer Leonard, a laborer (age 21); and Margaret Nolon (age 20) and Ann Timmon (age 30), relationships unknown. He perhaps was employed by Caldwell shoemaker Samuel R. Archibald, who also operated a tannery in town (Corbett 2001:49). On September 5, 1850 Francis was in New York City, likely on business as his occupation is listed as "Shoe Store." He is staying at what appears to be a rooming house with six other men and three women, all with various occupations and ages from 21 and 55.

By August 1857, Crosby is working to facilitate sales of the United States Hotel land. It is unclear if he has left shoemaking, or is working two jobs with hopes to transition to a hotel owner. His occupation is not given in the 1860 census, but Crosby remains in Caldwell, and is living with Elizabeth and six of their children, as well as Asael Dingman, a laborer (age 35); Henry. S. Huntingdon, a clergyman (age 32); and Geneva

Huntingdon (age 17). The 1870 census describes Crosby as keeping a boarding house in Caldwell. Living with Crosby are his wife, who is keeping house, seven of their children, and five additional people (all white) whose occupations and relationships are not given: Eva Balwin, age 16; Henrietta Spencer, age 21; Julia Burnum, age 22; Byron Resing, age 16. The description of the Crosbyside as a "boarding house" rather than a hotel suggests that business may not have been that good, and that perhaps the building was a little "less than" the larger, newer, and more fancy resorts in the area. This is supported by an 1871 description of the place:

> On a point diagonally opposite the great caravanasarie [the Fort William Henry Hotel], buried amid the trees that shade it and within a stone's throw of the water's edge, is "Crosby-side," a quiet, home-like place, as full during the season as a champagne bottle when first opened, and as comfortable as any such place can be. It is nice to be at a big hotel for a while; you have plenty of chances to cultivate all the cardinal virtues, and to practice the ordinary, if not ordinal, vices. But one tires of that soon, especially when a score of porters daily remind you of the length of your purse by brushing you down until you literally "shine;" when you find that warm victuals can only be procured by a system of wholesale bribery. So, if wise, you do as I do, seek a quieter place, and 'scent the smoke of the battle from afar.' 'What do you do?' inquires some skeptic and I answer briefly that you *do* nothing. And that is the beauty of the place. The poet GRAY is quoted as saying that his idea of heaven was 'lying on a sofa, reading a new novel.' You can get as much of that sort of thing as you like. You can build a castle of indolence and live in it. In short, you can attain perfection in the art of doing nothing, or you can be active and do everything. Fishing, rowing, sailing, riding, dancing, smoking, flirting, walking, climbing, bathing, eating, drinking, sleeping, or reading – what more could the most fastidious ask? Rowing is, after all, perhaps the most favorite amusement, and on a pleasant evening the Lake seems fairly alive with the boats flitting o'er its surface (*New York Times* August 17, 1871).

In the early 1870s, Crosby enlarges and improves Crosbyside. This includes building three guest cottages extending in a diagonal southwest from the hotel. These were called Pine Cottage (closest to the main hotel building), Rose Cottage, and Mayflower Cottage (closest to the Fuller House) by Wiawaka; it is unknown what these buildings were called

by Crosby. These three cottages, shown on an 1876 map of the area (Beers 1876), were built circa 1873. A contemporary description of the Crosbyside makes it clear that it has become much more than a boarding house:

> Right across the lake from Caldwell is what was once known as the "United States Hotel," now "Crosbyside." Beside the hotel proper, lately enlarged and improved, there are three cottages, which, with the summer houses and outbuildings, look like some pretty little village among the grand old trees that cover the point. As we approach, an air of intense respectability is wafted toward us from the shore, for you must know that Crosbyside is immense in that direction, numbering among its guests supreme court judges, D.D's, Japanese princes and escaped editors, which would be rather strong society for the average touring mortal if the balance of power was not retained on the world's side by the bevy of (*jolly* is the word, I think) young ladies who are annually banished from city homes by confiding mothers, satisfied that they will be safe with Mrs. Crosby (who seems especially designed by Nature to bring up girls in the proper way); by young men attracted by said young ladies, and by a few who come for the pure air, the delightful views, the sense of freedom that seems to go with the place; and last, but not least, the bountifully supplied table, made very inviting by its crisp purity and dainty niceness. The house, as well as the broad, comfortable looking piazza and grounds, impresses one with its cool, roomy sort of look; and, although open to all, on account of its retired situation, it gets but few "transients," assuming more the appearance of a great home, to which familiar faces come year after year; while the pleasant face of the silver-haired proprietor makes you feel to "bid farewell to every fear –" and register at once. Crosbyside has capacity for accommodating about two hundred guests…. (Stoddard 1873:41-42).

The improvements appear to have made an impression on the census taker, and in the 1875 New York State Census, Crosby is included as a hotel proprietor. He is living at the hotel with his wife and three of their daughters (ages 16 through 27), and ten additional (white) individuals: Isaac Miller, age 26, employee laborer; Martha Miller, age 23; Jeptha Wilbur, age 41; Martha A Wilbur, age 31; Laura A Wilbur, age 14; Ellen Dunn, age 36; Sarah Bradley; Rachel Hulburt, age 58; Warren Dixon, age 49, laborer; and James Kirkpatrick. The appearance of several of these individuals again in the 1880 census with their occupations suggests that these are employees of the Crosbyside, rather than guests.

Even though the arrival of the railroad was several years away in 1875, competition among the resorts for guests was fierce. Directly competing with the Crosbyside were the Fort William Henry Hotel, the "most fashionable" and with occupancy for 900 people; the Lake House; the Harris; and the Central. Away from the hubbub of the village, the Crosbyside was described as "….embowered in trees…on a beautiful slope – a quiet and unexceptional retreat" (Sears 1875:134-135). A June 1874 letter from William Lloyd Garrison, who was staying at the Crosbyside at the time, described cold, windy weather making for a "somewhat churlish" outlook for his stay. "To be thoroughly enjoyable," he writes, "the lake should not be visited before July. At present, there is scarcely a baker's dozen at either of the hotels" (the Crosbyside and the Fort William Henry). Of particular note is the goal of Garrison to regain health at the Crosbyside: "we mean to enjoy ourselves to the extent of our opportunities, and hope to return home in a better physical condition than when we left it" (Garrison 1874). In 1876, the building now known as Fuller House was built just south of the circa 1873 cottages.

The 1880 census again lists Francis Crosby as a hotel proprietor. The increase in household members (all white) suggests that the mid-1870s expansions of the Crosbyside were successful business decisions, and that the number of guests required an increased number of employees. Recorded at Crosbyside are Francis, his wife and two daughters; Sarah Bradley, age 52, servant; Carrie Joyce, age 13, servant; Deborah Stebbins, age 48, servant housekeeper; James Kirkpatrick, age 32, servant laborer; Jennie Kirkpatrick, age 24, servant; Simeon Powers, age 27, servant cook; Maggie McClay, age 60, servant,

Lucy Joyce, age 48, servant; William Vernam, age 27, servant laborer; Dewit Pitcher, age 66, gardener; and Jay H. Kirkpatrick, age 22, servant laborer. It was during August of 1880 that the American Canoe Association was organized at Crosbyside (*Kingston Daily Freeman* 21 Mar 1956).

According to the 1880 agricultural census, Crosby operated what amounted to a medium-sized farm to support the Crosbyside Hotel and his family. Valued at $75,000, Crosby had 30 tilled acres, 50 acres in permanent meadow, and 60 acres of unimproved woodlot, for a total of 140 acres. It is unclear if this total includes the property on which the hotel, cottages, and other resort outbuildings stood. Included in the $75,000 value was $150 in tools and machinery and $1,350 of livestock (6 horses, 12 milk cows, 4 other cattle, 21 swine, and 75 barn-yard poultry). In 1879, Crosby paid $1,200 in wages and board for farm labor totaling 150 weeks. In that year, the farm produced an estimated $2,000 of product, including 11 calves, 2 slaughtered cattle, 1,000lbs of butter, 200 dozen eggs, and 500 bushels (4 acres) of Irish potatoes. All of these goods, with the exception of some of the livestock sold, were used at the Crosbyside; there is no record of Crosby selling milk to butter or cheese factories, or of selling eggs, etc. While the 1880 agricultural census does not enumerate hay production, it is likely that Crosby also harvested hay from the meadows and from the Crosbyside lawns before the visitor season.

The late 1880s saw a decreasing involvement of Francis Crosby with the hotel, despite business being very good. In 1887, R.G. Dun & Co. described the property as being worth only approximately $25,000. Despite the loss of $50,000 in value from the 1880

agricultural census, R. G. Dun & Co. described the business as having good prospects (Figures 4, 24, and 25). In 1888, the hotel changed hands. Crosby sold to O.P. Cook of Whitehall, D. Peck and Co. of Glens Falls, and several others, but stayed on to manage the hotel, which was doing a good business. Visitors – including single women, parents and children, couples, and single men – were coming from as far away as Brooklyn. Crosby was described as being of good character and having good habits, and the property was valued at $50,000 (R.G. Dun & Co. 1888; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1888). In 1890, at the age of 80, Crosby continued to manage the Crosbyside Hotel, but no longer owned anything in his own name. He was replaced as manager in 1891 by Reuben Jenkins (R.G. Dun & Co. 1891); an 1892 New York State census shows him living in Caldwell, occupation: Gentleman. His wife died in Caldwell on December 21, 1893. Less than two years later, on August 14, 1895, Francis Crosby died of epithelioma in Medford, Massachusetts. He is listed in the death register as a retired hotel keeper.

Despite the loss of Crosby, the hotel complex continues to be known as the Crosbyside, and to attract families and professional meetings. In 1891 and 1892, the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf had their first and second annual meetings at the Crosbyside (Yale 1891:18-19; Bell 1892). Alexander Graham Bell was the president of the association in both of these years. At the first meeting, over 150 members of the association were present, mostly teachers of the deaf. Among the scheduled events, Bell spoke about vocal physiology and visible speech and a physician from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia gave a series of three lectures on the anatomy of speech (Yale 1891:18-19). At least one of these lectures was done using a

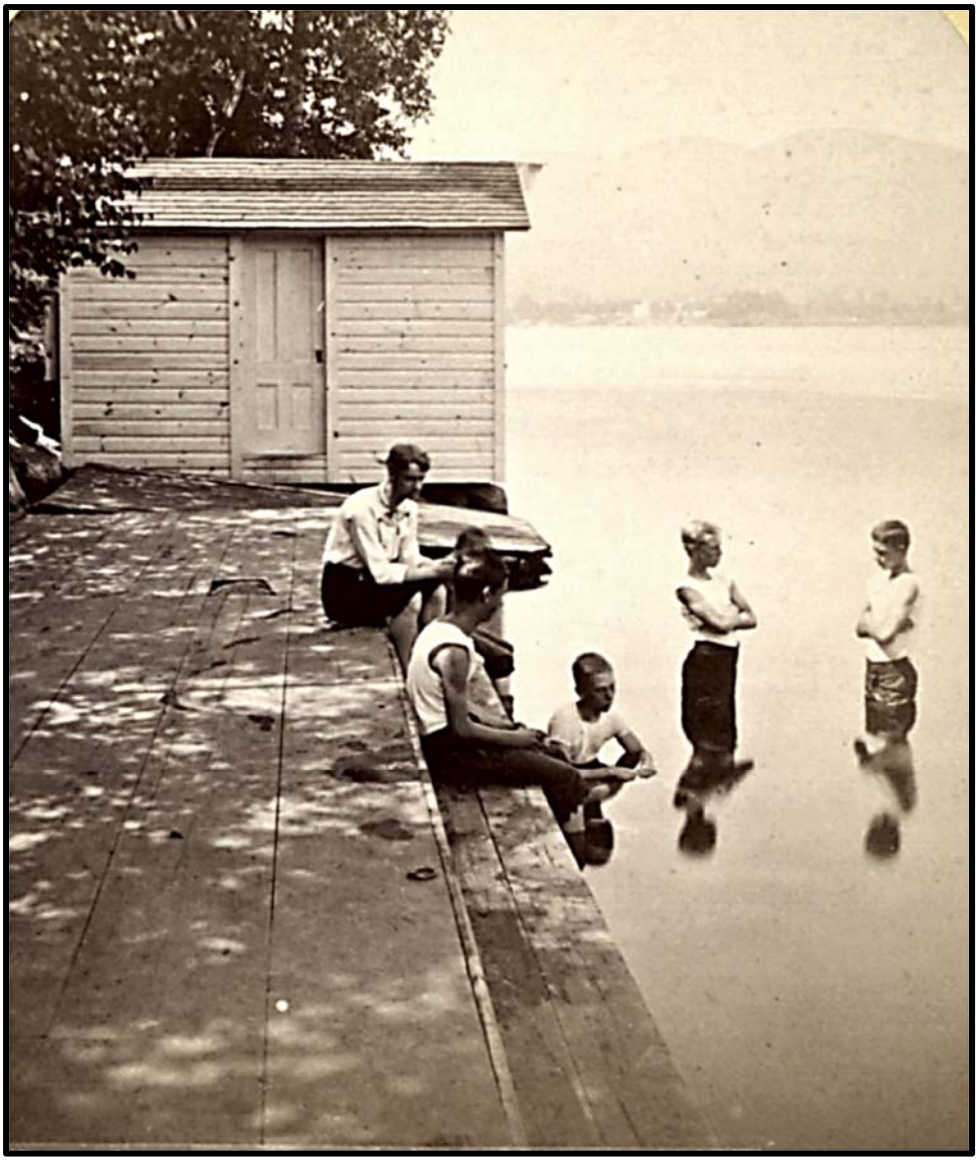

Figure 26: Crosbyside Dock, Lake George, August 28, 1877. Photograph by Seneca Ray Stoddard, from the Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views, New York Public Library (G91F121_119ZF).

Figure 27: Crosbyside, The Lawn, Lake George, ca. 1870-1885. Photograph by Seneca Ray Stoddard, from the Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views, New York Public Library (G91F121_113ZF).

cadaver for reference; in a letter from Bell to his wife dated July 1, 1891, Bell writes, "Dr. Henson's lecture on the Thorax highly appreciated — all delighted. The ladies gathered round the body of the deceased negro eagerly examining every part, and asking questions of the doctor." This casual comment underscores my argument that the tension between African American and white power and experience in the Lake George region reinforced the white, middle-classness of the vacation experience.

There continued to be changes in management of the Crosbyside through the last decade and a half of its existence. In 1891 the manager was R.C. Jenkins; in 1896 it was A.H. Russell; in 1897, E.L. Seelye; then S.H. Smith in 1899; Wm. L. Bennington, proprietor and H.P. Ryalls, manager in 1901; and H.P. Ryalls, proprietor, in 1902 (Bell 1891; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1896; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1897; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1899; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1902a; Stoddard 1902:27). The new owners changed the tone of advertising for the Crosbyside, from the previous quiet, homey, relaxing place described by Crosby to a lively, happening, modern hotel emphasizing its health and excellence:

> Cottages for large and small families to rent at moderate rates. Pure drinking water. Perfect sanitation. No malaria, no mosquitoes. Steam heat. Pool, billiards, tennis courts, bowling alley. Excellent music for dancing. Broad piazza on three sides of hotel. Unexcelled cuisine. Vegetables and milk from Crosbyside farm. Beautiful lawn, walks, drives and every advantage for young and old. Electric bells connect each room with office....Rates $2.50 to $3.50 per day. Special rates for families, young men, and for a prolonged stay…. A.H. Russell, Proprietor for 1895-96" (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* 1896).

Over the next six years, rates for rooms at the Crosbyside were raised, presumably in hopes of keeping the hotel afloat. In 1902, the year that the Crosbyside failed, only a relatively short advertisement appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*:

> Crosbyside is a commodious and well known house, conspicuous for beauty of situation as well as for its large tastefully furnished rooms, en suite or singly, and generally comfortable modern appointments. … Connected with the hotel are numerous cottages where families may have the privacy of a home with every advantage of hotel life. Fine music is furnished by a ladies' orchestra. The rates are $10 to $12 a week. (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1902a)

The ultimate failure of the Crosbyside seems to have come with the death of one of its owners, Henry G. Burleight (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1902b).

Wiawaka Holiday House

In 1902, George Foster Peabody of Brooklyn and Spencer Trask (a prominent New York banker) bought the Crosbyside property (Sayers 1998; Tolles Jr. 2003:40-41). The Trasks are perhaps best known for establishing Yaddo, the artists' retreat that remains in operation in Saratoga Springs – a spot that Wiawaka guests were taken to during their visits (McGee 2008; Waite 1933; Worth 2008). The plan was to make improvements to the hotel, and open it in 1903 "under the auspices of the Girls' Friendly Society" with prices adjusted so "that a vacation at Lake George will be possible for many who before could only regard such a trip as a luxury" (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1902b) – specifically those described as "the young women toilers of New York city" (*Democrat and Chronicle* 1902). When Wiawaka Holiday House opened, most of the working women who took respite there were from the garment factories of Troy and Cohoes, just outside of Albany, New York, with some coming from New York City. Not mentioned in these newspaper articles, the impetus for founding Wiawaka Holiday House came from Mary Wiltse Fuller – unmarried daughter of a wealthy Troy, New York industrialist – and Katrina Trask, Spencer's wife (Figure 28; Sayer 1998).

As planned, Wiawaka Holiday House opened in 1903 under the auspices of the Episcopalian Girls' Friendly Society (GFS), and in a portion of the former Crosbyside property that Fuller leased from the Trasks; later that year, she purchased eight acres from them for the price of $1 and a bouquet of flowers (Sayers 1998; Tolles Jr. 2003:40-41; Stoddard 1903:36). The name "Wiawaka" was coined by the founders to evoke "the music of the Indian" and "the legend of the Mohawk and the Abenaki." The translation

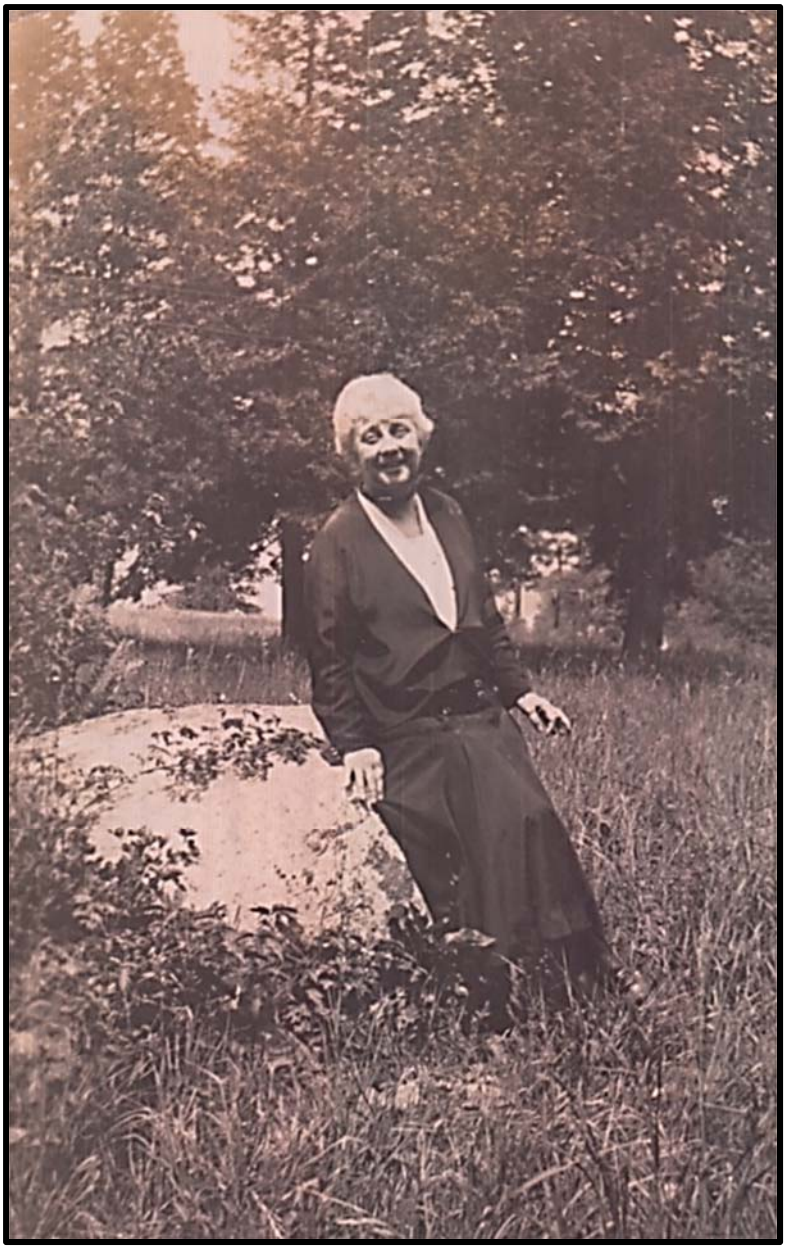

Figure 28: Mary Wiltse Fuller at Wiawaka, early twentieth century. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

has been given as both “The Great Spirit in Woman” and “the spirit of God in Woman” (Figure 29; Springate 2011). The GFS, an international Episcopalian moral purity organization was established in England in the late nineteenth century. Part of the mission of the Society was to protect unmarried working women from the dangers of urban life

including idleness, pre-marital sexual activity, and work as prostitutes. GFS meetings and activities held in the cities during much of the year served to educate the girls on proper (read: middle class) etiquette and household management while literally keeping them off the streets (Girls' Friendly Society in America [GFS] 1912/1913; Richmond 2007).

Wiawaka was one of approximately 30 Holiday Houses operated by the GFS across the country (see Table 1; Girls' Friendly Society United States of America 2017). The GFS found holiday houses important to their mission, as regular meetings and activities were curtailed during the summer when organizers went on holiday (GFS 1912/1913). The holiday houses were a means for working girls to experience the healthy benefits of consuming leisure and nature while still being under the moral supervision and direction of the GFS. The working women who stayed at these holiday houses were referred to as "Girl Guests;" GFS organizers were known as associate members (GFS 1912/1913; Sayers 1998) and a housemother managed the day-to-day operations at each location. The reference to single women as girls was consistent with the ideology of the day – females were not considered grown women until they married. Class also played a role in the designation of women as girls – the founder of Wiawaka, Mary Wiltse Fuller never married, but certainly would not have been referred to as a "girl" (see, for example, Enstad 1999). Girl members of the GFS were required to be both single and "virtuous" (code for virginal) and were expelled from the organization if they became "unvirtuous" by being sexually active outside of marriage; this may also have been code for keeping out toughs and other working women who had not internalized middle class values (Alexander 1995; Murolo 1997:20-21; Richmond 2007). Debates within the GFS

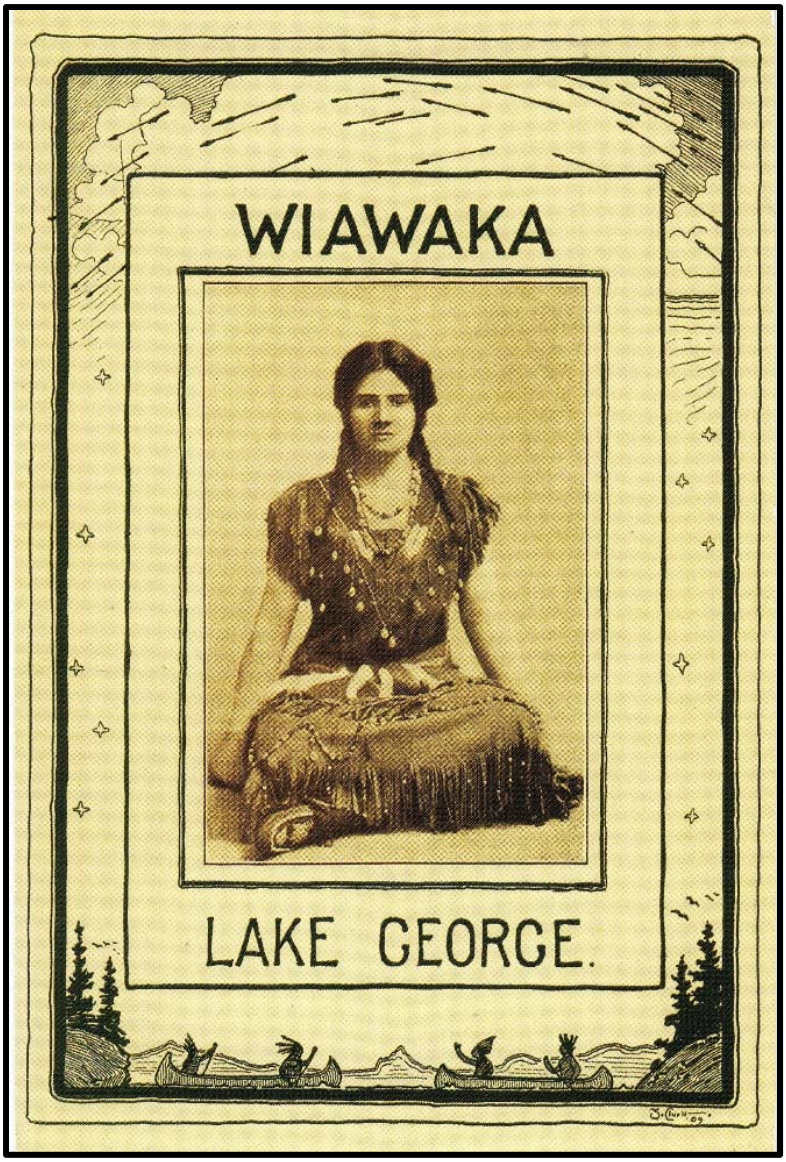

Figure 29: Wiawaka Holiday House postcard, originally published 1907 and reprinted ca. 2003. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

regarding the virtuousness of Girl Guests raged through the first quarter of the twentieth century. The faction forbidding membership to "fallen girls," even if repentant, won out until the 1930s, when the GFS began to lose large numbers of members to less morally strict organizations like the YWCA (Richmond 2007). According to her obituary, sometime during the first half of the twentieth century, on the impetus of Mary Fuller,

Wiawaka distanced itself from the GFS, becoming a summer vacation spot for "all working girls" (*Troy Record* 1943).

In addition to providing healthy exposure to nature and physical activity, the GFS holiday house experience was also one of training for Girl Guests. A 1910 etiquette manual (Johnstone 1910) describes appropriate guest behavior for weekend visitors as entertaining themselves by walking, rowing, playing croquet, reading, gossiping, or playing cards while the hostess takes care of her daily business. At Wiawaka, these entertainments were formally organized and structured events. Mealtimes also emphasized how Wiawaka's Girl Guests were not guests. While weekend visitors were not expected to conform to the family breakfast hour of their hosts, meals at Wiawaka were served at set times with guests called to table by the clanging of a bell. In her manual, Johnstone describes etiquette as

> the expression of good manners [which] have been rightly called the minor morals. This is true in the sense that they are the expression of the innate kindness and good will that sum up what we call good breeding…. Here in America, where circumstances may lift a family from poverty and obscurity to wealth…the first great anxiety of those not "to the manor born" is to learn how to comport themselves (Johnstone 1910:683-684)

She continues, "the best personal asset a girl can have is 'nice manners'" and gives 10 to 1 odds that it is because of good manners that a girl regarded by many as "too homely to be accounted dangerous" is able to "carry off the matrimonial prize of her set" (Johnstone 1910:717). By training the Girl Guests in middle-class etiquette, the GFS created women suitable for hire as domestic help (getting them out of the factories and off the streets), but also instilled in them what they considered the moral training to lift them out of poverty and obscurity through marriage to a good (middle class) husband. It was certainly

their hope that the working women would internalize these white, middle class, feminine values of respectability and take them back to the cities with them. While it may be tempting to argue over which aspect of the holiday house experience to foreground as primary – the philanthropic respite and education or the imposition and reinforcement of white, middle class respectability – the framework of trans theory allows both of these seemingly oppositional qualities to exist simultaneously.

Wiawaka operated out of a wing of the Crosbyside (leaving the rest empty or using it for storage) and four associated buildings: three of the guest houses (Rose, Mayflower, and Pine Cottages, all built circa 1873) and the main house built circa 1876 by the Crosbyside's owner as his own residence. This last building, now known as Fuller House, continues to serve as the administrative and communal heart of Wiawaka (Sayers 1998). In the old hotel, Wiawaka used the ballroom and piano, and the caretaker stayed in rooms there (*New York Times* 1903; Wiawaka Holiday House archives).

According to the words of Katrina Trask on a triptych hanging in the main room of Fuller House (transcribed in Springate 2011), Wiawaka's early mission was to provide a place for "weary, overworked women and girls to rest and recuperate" -- a place for affordable and healthful vacations for the working women from the textile factories in and around Albany and Troy, New York. Unlike at other resorts and hotels, the relationship between labor and leisure at Wiawaka was only partially hidden or mystified. The relationship between leisure, work, and moral value was explicitly part of Wiawaka's ideology (but did not extend to the few hired staff). Guests were expected to perform work at Wiawaka

– something not done at more traditional hotels or resorts. “Work,” wrote Katrina Trask in describing the ideology of Wiawaka, “is the criterion of character. It makes no difference what that work is, whether it is making shirts, making collars, writing books, sweeping the floor… or painting pictures – so long as it is well done” (Springate 2011). Girl Guests were expected to help out at Wiawaka – they served tea, helped at the dairy farm and in the garden as well as partaking in structured leisure activities including walks, pageants, and boat rides. They consumed nature, health, and directed self-improvement as part of their leisure but were also explicitly the producers both of their own vacation and leisure experiences and those of other guests who labored at writing books or painting pictures (Katrina Trask authored several books and Georgia O’Keeffe painted on the property in 1908; *American Art News* 1908). The connections between leisure, labor, and capitalism are also explicit at Wiawaka: while the stated mission of the site was to provide factory girls an affordable vacation, the site itself was founded and managed by the wives and daughters of wealthy industrialists, some of whom -- including Cluetts and Peabodys -- owned the very companies from which the Girl Guests needed respite.

These factory “girls” are usually portrayed as single women, mostly immigrants largely from Ireland. A first-hand account of working in these mills was recently published (Harrigan 2002). Troy was known as “The City of Women” because of the number of women working in its garment industry. In the nineteenth century, the female workers of Troy organized and successfully fought for inclusion in unions and for labor reforms in the factories (Turbin 1992; Walkowitz 1978). There is no mention in the Wiawaka

archives of this labor history, nor of unionizing or of the specifics of working conditions in the factories. Troy was home to, among others, the Cluett and Peabody Company that brought detachable collars to market in the nineteenth century and made the still popular Arrow shirts. Cluett, Peabody, & Co., the current incarnation of the company, closed their administration offices and left Troy for good, moving to Atlanta in the spring of 1989 (Faber 1989).

Women from both the Cluett and Peabody families sat on Wiawaka's board of directors – an irony, since theirs was one of the garment factories from which Wiawaka offered respite. In its first summer, Wiawaka hosted almost 200 guests, charging them $3.50 per week for room and board (though the real cost for visitors was room and board plus the wages lost while not working). Average weekly resort rates on Lake George ranged from $10 to $21 at the fanciest resorts; boarding houses charged from $7 to $10 per week; and tent camping was $3 per week including board (Stoddard 1904). By application to a philanthropic fund, women who were unable to afford even the reduced $3.50 cost could still attend Wiawaka at discounted rates or for free (Sayers 1998; Wiawaka Holiday House Archives). Accommodations consisted of rooms with one or two single beds, shared bathroom facilities, communal living room and communal meals served at set times. Structured activities in the early years included formal teas, boating, hiking, trips to Yaddo, and pageants (Figures 30 and 31).

In 1904, just one year after Wiawaka moved in to the Crosbyside buildings, they built a bathing pavilion (now known as House of Trix). The partitions in the building, which

Figure 30: Wiawaka women and Adirondack guide boat, 1921. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

Figure 31: Pageant group with troubadour, ca. 1921. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

provided privacy for those changing in or out of their bathing suits, were removed in 1956, turning the bathing house into an activity room.

In 1905, an arsonist destroyed the old Crosbyside and several outbuildings including Pine Cottage. Despite the damage, Wiawaka opened for the season, operating out of the surviving buildings. New structures were built on the property throughout the twentieth century, including the new Pine Cottage (1907), boathouse (1916), and Lake House completed in 1963. When the new Pine Cottage was built, it was not at its original location, but on the east side of Route 9L which bisected the Wiawaka property. This both physically and conceptually separated Pine Cottage, which became home to the male caretaker of Wiawaka, from the main activity areas associated with the women's retreat. Instead, the residence was linked to a production area which included the ice house (also built in 1907), a stone barn (now ruins) and later, the dairy barn (now used as a garage). In the 1920s, the road was rerouted to reduce a dangerous curve, and moved to pass east of Pine Cottage. Portions of the original road have been incorporated into the drive leading to Wakonda Lodge.

In 1908, Mary Fuller bought Amitola (the portion of the Wiawaka property where Wakonda Lodge is located) from the Trasks. Although run as though it was part of Wiawaka, Fuller kept personal ownership of the property privately, transferring it to Wiawaka Holiday House shortly before her death. Before selling it to Mary Fuller, the Trasks used the property and the building as the location of an artists' retreat. Georgia O'Keeffe, known for her later association with Lake George and her photographer

husband Alfred Stieglitz, as well as for her paintings of enlarged flowers and her New Mexico home and studio which she designed with her partner, Maria Chabot (Dubrow 2016:5-40 to 5-41), had a formative, early history at the site. In the spring of 1908, at 21 years of age, O'Keeffe won a general scholarship to the Art Students' League in New York City for her untitled oil painting of a dead rabbit with a copper pot. That summer, she was one of twenty Art Students' League students to spend a month at Amitola, which, though owned by the Trasks, was operated as part of Wiawaka (even more confusingly, Wiawaka itself was noted in the press as owned by Trask; *American Art News* 1908). O'Keeffe is listed in the Wiawaka guest ledger as staying in room 18 at Wiawaka (Figure 32). A second floor room at what is now known as Wakonda Lodge still bears the number 18. Intimidated by the other artists at the retreat, O'Keeffe stopped painting, convinced that she could never compete artistically with others in the realistic style. Four years later, she began painting again after taking a class that introduced her to a more expressionist approach to painting, and she went on to create a spectacular body of work (*American Art News* 1908; Georgia O'Keeffe Museum 2011a, 2011b; Greenough 2011:50). O'Keeffe continued to have a long relationship with the Lake George region, visiting each year through the 1930s (see, for example, Coe et al. 2013; Greenough 2011).

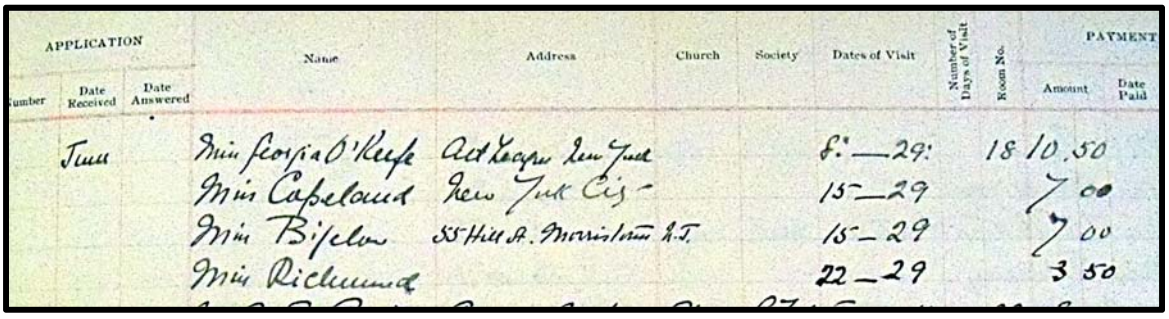

Figure 32: Georgia O'Keeffe's entry in the ledger book for June 1908. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

One of the goals of Wiawaka -- to help the working women regain their health -- was met in part by serving fresh, healthy meals. Just as the Lake George Young Ladies' Institute and Francis Crosby had gardens and livestock to provide food, Wiawaka also was at least partially self-sufficient. In 1914, Wiawaka managers purchased two milk cows because it was proving a challenge to get enough fresh milk from local farmers (Wiawaka Holiday House Annual Report). In 1915, the barn and shed were built to the new sanitary standards on the east side of Route 9L to house the cows year round (Figure 33; Wiawaka Holiday House archives). This is later than a circa 1912 build date previously recorded (Sayers 1998). It wasn't until 1920 that the pasture, located east of the barn, was "at last" enclosed by wire fencing. In 1917, in order to provide fresh vegetables at an affordable cost, a large garden was planted (Wiawaka Holiday House Archives). These were not the only efforts of Wiawaka to keep costs down and provide healthy, fresh food to their visitors: in 1931, the annual report notes that a small building was built to hold the overflow of hay (a cash crop from the earliest years; Figure 34), provide shelter for the tractor, and to house the pigs. In 1932, they built a chicken house, the location of which has not been determined (Wiawaka Holiday House archives). The male caretaker, who lived at the Pine Cottage, was tasked with caring for any livestock and the gardens – though guests were also welcome to help out.

During the early twentieth century, Wiawaka Holiday House underwent several changes that reflect social and scientific changes of the time. In 1916, Pine Cottage was wired for

electricity, and all of the cottages were connected to the service of the Adirondack Power Company. In 1930 and 1931, all of the cottages were rewired (Wiawaka Holiday House

Figure 33: Wiawaka guests and cows in front of Fuller House, early twentieth century. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

Figure 34: Loading hay at Wiawaka, early twentieth century. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

Archives). Despite the presence of electric power at Wiawaka, ice boxes were used as the source of refrigeration well past 1937, when a new ice box was purchased. Ice for the ice box was purchased in the winter, filling the ice house (which received a new roof in 1947). Properly insulated and ventilated, the ice would remain frozen even in the hottest summer.

The boat house, previously thought to have been built ca. 1907 (Sayers 1998) was built over the winter of 1916-1917 with money donated for the purpose (Wiawaka Holiday House archives). In 1940, the current gazebo was built. Gazebos were extensions or offshoots of the verandahs of the nineteenth century resort hotels, providing a more intimate and private space for guests to have a private conversation or some personal quiet time in touch with nature, but still set apart (Blackmar and Cromley 1982:53). Photographs from the nineteenth century show that there was a gazebo on the Crosbyside Hotel grounds, making the mid-twentieth century gazebo a continuation of this traditional resort form. In 1956, the shuffleboard court on the main lawn was installed, and the old bathhouse was gutted and converted into a party house known as the House of Trix, named for a long-time visitor, Beatrix Enys.

Mary Fuller died in June of 1943, taken to hospital from Wiawaka where she had arrived, as she had every year, to help open the site and get it ready to welcome guests (Sayers 1998). In 1998, Wiawaka Holiday House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In 2015, the name was changed from Wiawaka Holiday House to the Wiawaka Center for Women.

Excavations in several areas of the Wiawaka Center for Women property provide material glimpses of the history of the site, as well as evidence for the importance of capitalism, respectability, class, race, and gender in the formation of the vacation experience for guests at the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House.

Chapter 4: In the Field

Excavations at Wiawaka provided the opportunity to explore several broad areas of archaeological inquiry, as well as several site-specific questions. The broader questions, which underpin much of this interpretation, have to do with the negotiation and maintenance of personal and social identities – in this case, race, class, and gender; respectability as a capitalist ideology; the unseen labor of leisure that makes vacations possible; the different experiences of working and middle class women at Wiawaka, and changes in mission and ideology at the site over time. These will be considered in the contexts of the performativity of identity (Butler 1990), Third Space (Bhabha 1994), and trans theory (Gieseking 2016). The documentary record tells us that Crosbyside was a mixed-gender, middle-class vacation resort in business from 1857 to 1902, while Wiawaka is a predominantly women-only holiday house in operation since 1903 (a male caretaker lived onsite, but physically separated from the main activity areas). From the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, then, the function of the subject property changed from being a mixed-gender leisure resort for middle class white guests (Crosbyside Hotel) to a women's retreat founded by wealthy women for virtuous working women to have an affordable vacation (Girls' Friendly Society's Wiawaka Holiday House) to a women's retreat for "all women" with a special mission to provide affordable vacations to working women (independent Wiawaka Holiday House).

Excavations conducted in 2012 and 2013 on the grounds of Wiawaka provided a material avenue for exploring these questions. Although a total of eight excavation units and 125

shovel test units were excavated in five areas across the site, the analysis (in Chapter 5) focuses on the ceramics, glass, and personal artifacts recovered from two midden deposits: one associated with the last years of the Crosbyside Hotel (ca. 1870-1902; Excavation Units 1A and 1B) and one associated with Wiawaka Holiday House (ca. mid-1910s to 1929; Excavation Unit 2A and 2STP15). The field results described here summarize all of the site excavations, but provide additional detail and focus on these two areas. Copies of the full site report will be placed on file with the New York State Historic Preservation Office, Wiawaka Center for Women, and the New York State Museum.

Historical Research

Primary and secondary historical research was conducted in a variety of repositories. Because of the limited amount of published information about women's holiday houses, including Wiawaka Holiday House, primary research was a key source of information. Archival records for Wiawaka Holiday House are located on-site and at the Rensselaer County Historical Society in Troy, New York. Archives associated with other contemporary holiday houses were examined at the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; The Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; The Rare Books and Special Collections at the Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, New York; and the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Syracuse, New York. It was not uncommon to find promotional materials and mentions of other women's holiday houses among these various archives. Other archives consulted

included the Crandall Library in Glens Falls, New York; the Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, New York; the Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston, Massachusetts; the Library of Congress collections, Washington, DC; the Chapman Historical Museum in Glens Falls, New York; archived newspapers at newspapers.com; and census and other genealogical research at ancestry.com. Secondary research included archaeological reports of similar sites, as well as relevant historical publications.

Field Methodology

Excavations at Wiawaka Holiday House in 2013 and 2014 were not conducted as part of any permitting process, nor were they triggered by planned subsurface disturbance. Excavation strategies balanced the need to gather relevant data, leave portions of the site intact, work within the constraints of the host site, and work with community volunteers. New York State guidelines for field work, artifact processing, and curation were followed (New York Archaeological Council 2000; New York State Museum [NYSM] 2009). Excavations were overseen by myself and site assistants with experience in public historical archaeology. Volunteers without archaeological field experience were asked to volunteer for at least three consecutive days so they could receive training in archaeological field methods, note taking, artifact identification, and basic analysis. Volunteers worked in teams of two or three, with more experienced volunteers teamed up with those who had less field experience. The list of over 80 volunteers that assisted with field excavations, artifact processing and analysis, and documentary research and transcription is located in the Acknowledgments section of the front matter.

Prior to excavations, a 15m grid was established across the Wiawaka property using a total station on loan from the Maryland State Highway Administration. The virtual datum point was established in Lake George so that all coordinates across the site were located to the south and east (Figure 35). All excavation units, including shovel test pits, were excavated by hand using shovels, trowels, and other small hand tools.

Shovel test units were excavated by hand at least 10cm (0.3ft) into sterile soils except where excavations were stopped by bedrock or other impenetrable boundaries. Although not excavated stratigraphically, the depth, color, and soil type of each strata in the shovel test units were recorded before backfilling (Appendix A). Soils from each shovel test unit were sifted through 1/4" hardware cloth to recover artifacts. Soils in excavation units were removed by stratigraphic level, with arbitrary levels measuring no more than 10cm (0.3ft) thick imposed as a measure of temporal control in deep deposits or where natural stratigraphic boundaries were unclear. Excavation extended at least 10cm (0.3ft) into sterile subsoil, except where excavations were stopped by bedrock or other impenetrable boundaries. All excavation unit soils were sifted, by level, through ¼" hardware cloth to recover artifacts. Fieldwork was conducted in metric; English engineering scale equivalents (feet and tenths of feet) are provided in parentheses.

To minimize discard errors by variously experienced excavators, all artifacts from shovel test units and excavation units were retained in the field. During processing, a discard strategy refined in consultation with the New York State Museum was implemented. All

Figure 35: Site map showing grid and locations of excavation areas.

discarded materials were recorded in a discards catalog, cross-referenced by accession number with the main artifact catalog. For coal and coal byproducts (clinker, coal slag, and charcoal), mortar, concrete, foundation stone, plaster, and non-diagnostic brick fragments two representative samples were kept per context, with the remainder counted, weighed, and discarded. Hinge fragments from clam shells were retained, with non-hinge portions counted, weighed, and discarded (unless only non-hinge portions were present, in which case two representative samples were kept per context, with the remainder counted, weighed, and discarded). Whole nails were retained, with partial nails counted, weighed, and discarded (unless only partial nails were present in a particular context, in which case two or 10% of them – whichever was greater – were retained, with the remainder counted, weighed, and discarded). All non-diagnostic flat iron that appeared to come from tin cans was counted, weighed, and discarded. For diagnostic portions of cans (seams and ends giving diameters), two or 10% of them – whichever was greater – were retained, with the remainder counted, weighed, and discarded. For other non-diagnostic materials such as plain body glass from vessels, window glass, and plastics, two representative samples or 10% (whichever was greater) were retained per context, with the remainder counted, weighed, and discarded.

Excavation documentation included stratigraphic level forms and feature forms (date, location, soil type, Munsell color, opening and closing depths, plan view, artifacts recovered, and notes), a field notebook for general observations, photographs, plan views, and profiles. Artifact processing was done in the on-site lab in the ice house at Wiawaka during inclement weather or at least one day a week. At the end of excavation seasons,

artifacts were taken to the Center for Heritage Resource Studies archaeology lab, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland College Park for processing and analysis. Artifact processing included washing, cataloging, and labeling using methods appropriate to the artifact type. Artifacts were lot cataloged within each context. Per communication with New York State Museum curators, only whole artifacts were directly labeled. Artifacts were bagged by catalog number in inert 4mil polyethylene ziptop bags with white blocks, clearly labeled with provenience information; a paper tag with the catalog number was also included inside each bag (NYSM 2009).

An underwater survey was conducted just off the Wiawaka shoreline from the boathouse dock to the rocky point opposite Mayflower Cottage. The purpose of the survey was to determine if remains from the burnt Crosbyside Hotel and original Pine Cottage were disposed of by pushing them into the lake, as no evidence of their remains were visible on the property. On July 20, 2013, Megan Springate and volunteers Jen Allen, Joe Zarzynski, and Lizz Zieschang snorkeled along the length of the investigation area. Twelve artifacts or concentrations of artifacts were identified at depths of three to eight feet, and flagged with numbered pin flags. On July 28, 2013 Megan Springate and Joe Zarzynski returned to the area to record the locations. Using SCUBA equipment, Joe located the points under water; from a boat positioned above each point, Megan recorded the location using a Garmin GPSmap 76Cx gps unit. A total of twenty-one points were recorded, clustered off the shore closest to where Pine Cottage had once stood. This evidence suggests that while at least some of the remains of burned Pine Cottage were disposed of in the lake, the same cannot be said for the remains of the burnt Crosbyside

Hotel – perhaps because of its increased distance from the shoreline. No artifacts were recovered during this survey.

All artifacts, field documentation, a copy of this dissertation, and a site report will be deposited with the New York State Museum for curation. The accession number is A2013.61. A copy of the dissertation and site report will also be sent to Wiawaka Center for Women, and a copy of the site report will be send to the New York State Historic Preservation Office and to the Rensselaer County Historical Society for their files.

Field Investigations

Areas for excavation were selected based on the research questions, historical research, local knowledge, and a pedestrian survey of the property. A total of five areas were investigated by shovel testing; based on the results of the shovel tests, excavation units were placed in three areas. In these five areas combined, excavations consisted of: 125 shovel test pits no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter; seven excavation units measuring 1m by 1m (3.3ft by 3.3ft); and one excavation unit measuring 1m by 2.25m (3.3ft by 7.4ft). Shovel test units were numbered consecutively, with the first number indicating the study area of the site and the last number being the sequentially numbered shovel test (1STP9 represents area one, shovel test unit nine). The location of each shovel test unit was measured from the datum to its center. Excavation units were designated by area number, a sequential letter for each unit, and another sequential number representing the context within the unit (3A6 represents area three, the first excavation unit, and sixth

context). Excavation units were located on the site grid using the coordinates of their southwest corner.

Area 1

Area 1 is located in a lightly forested area just east of Route 9L at the northern extent of the Wiawaka property (Figure 35). A ditch runs along the eastern side of Route 9L, and the area closest to the road is overgrown and uneven. Once in the wooded area, the ground is relatively flat. There is little underbrush. Trees in this area are largely pine and other evergreens. It is in a portion of the Wiawaka Holiday House property characterized as Elnora loamy fine sand (map symbol: En). Parent material for Elnora loamy fine sand includes sandy glaciofluvial, aeolian, and deltaic deposits. Classified as prime farmland, Elnora loamy fine sand has a slope of zero to three percent and is moderately well drained. A typical profile consists of loamy fine sand from zero to ten inches; loamy fine sand from 10 to 28 inches; and fine sand from 28 to 60 inches (Natural Resources Conservation Service 2017).

A large surface scatter of whitewares and container glass was identified by a consultant hired by Wiawaka Holiday House to evaluate the site's timber resources. The age and type of artifacts visible on the surface were consistent with the late nineteenth century (Crosbyside Hotel). Two excavation units measuring 1m by 1m (3.3ft by 3.3ft) were placed in areas with the most extensive surface scatter: excavation unit 1A was located at S155E341; excavation unit 1B was located at S156E343 (Figure 36). A series of 28 shovel test units measuring no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter were excavated across

the area to determine its extent. Shovel test units were excavated at 5m (16.4ft) intervals, with additional shovel test units excavated at 2.5m (8.2ft) intervals to more accurately map the edges of the deposit.

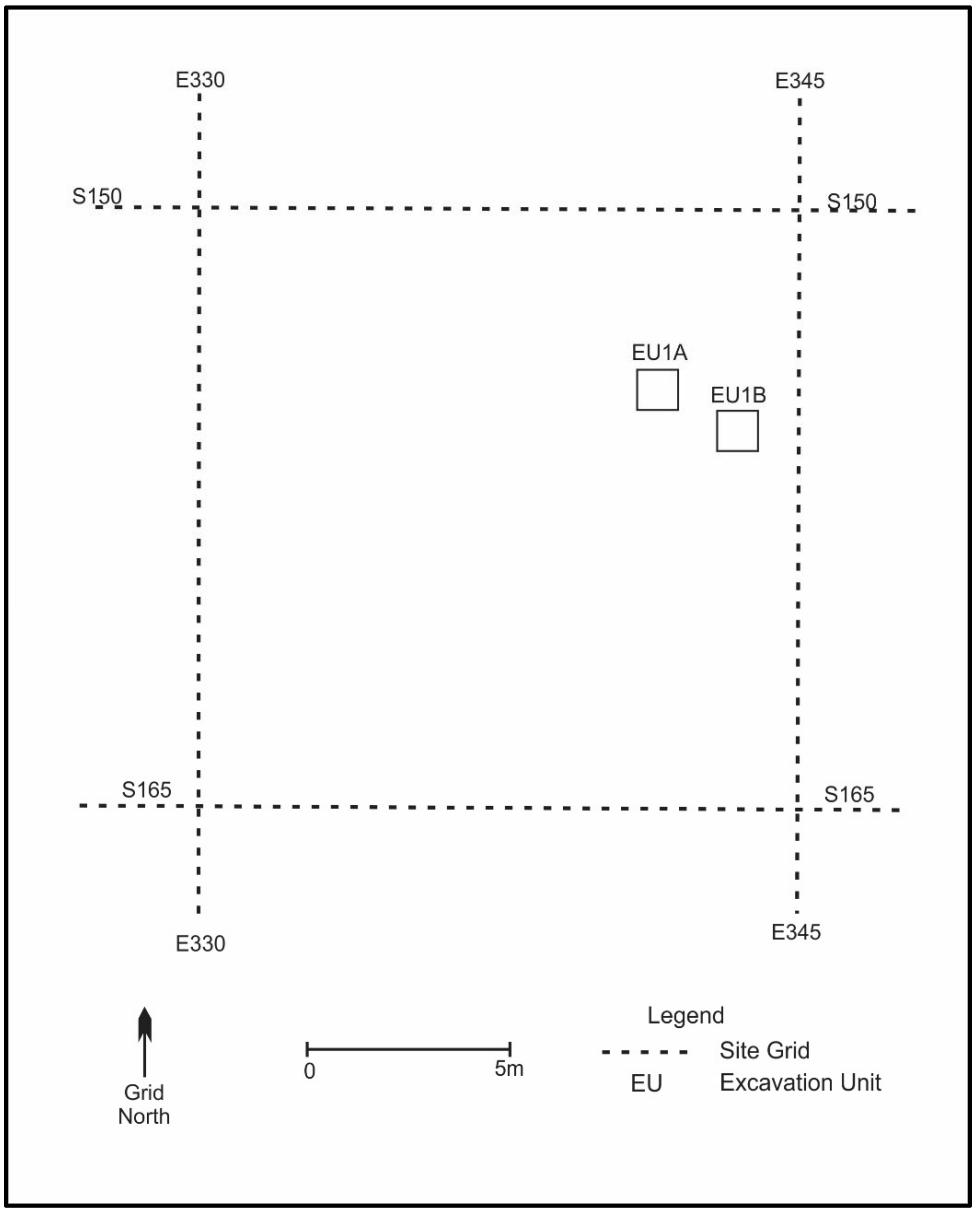

Figure 36: Location of Excavation Units in Area 1

Area 2

Area 2 is located in a wooded area immediately southeast of Lake House, just west of a small creek that traverses the Wiawaka property (Figure 35). It is in a portion of the Wiawaka Holiday House property characterized as Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes (map symbol: ChB). Parent material for Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes includes coarse-loamy melt-out till derived from granite, gneiss, or schist. Classified as prime farmland, Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes is well drained. A typical profile consists of fine sandy loam from zero to seven inches; gravelly fine sandy loam from seven to 22 inches; and gravelly fine sandy loam from 22 to 65 inches (Natural Resources Conservation Service 2017).

Historic documentation indicates that Area 2 was once the location of the Crosbyside Hotel. Artifacts on the surface date from the early twentieth century. Also visible was a depression measuring approximately 8m (26.4ft) by 5m (16.4ft). The use of a soil probe revealed an extremely dense artifact concentration within the depression. A series of 25 shovel test units was excavated at 5m (16.4ft) intervals across Area 2 to determine the location and extent of deposits; areas of steep slope and a graded access road leading to Lake House were not excavated. One excavation unit (2A, located at S106.25E176.5), initially measuring 1m by 2m (3.3ft by 6.6ft) was placed to explore both the interior and the exterior of the depression, determined to be a brick-lined privy. During excavation, the unit was extended an additional 0.25m (0.8ft) south to allow for working room given the density of artifacts. Excavation unit 2B (S110E166.25) was placed based on the results of shovel test excavations that revealed extensive demolition debris, presumably

associated with the former Crosbyside Hotel. Excavation unit 2C (S104.25E172.5) was placed based on the results of shovel test excavations that produced large numbers of burnt artifacts, likely associated with the 1905 fire that destroyed the Crosbyside Hotel building, the original Pine Cottage, and several other outbuildings (Figure 37). Artifacts recovered from a surviving burn layer were sought as representative materials selected by the founders of Wiawaka Holiday House when it opened in 1903.

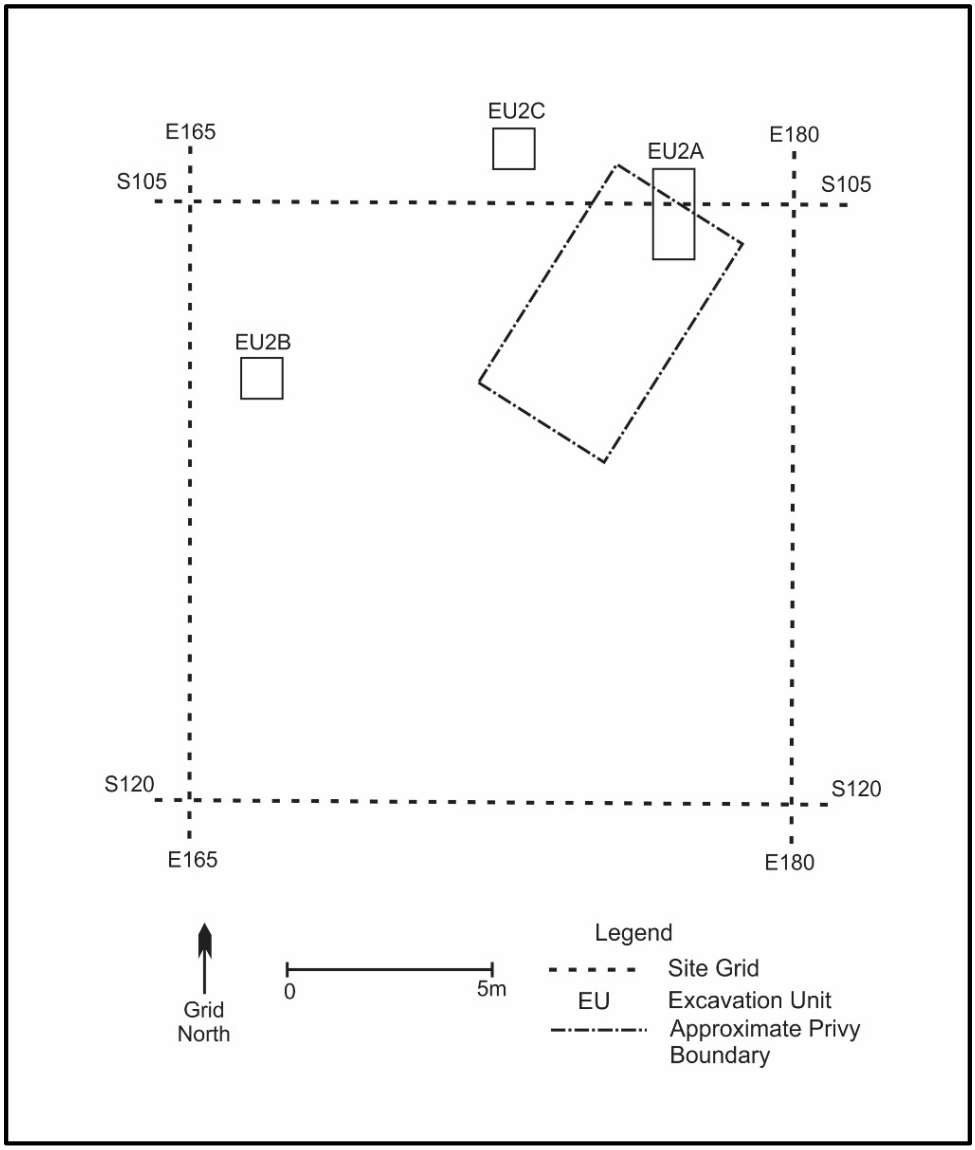

Figure 37: Location of Excavation Units in Area 2.

Area 3

Area 3 is located around the extant Pine Cottage (Figure 35). It is in a portion of the Wiawaka Holiday House property characterized as both Elnora loamy fine sand (map symbol: En) east of Pine Cottage and Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes (map symbol: ChB) to the west. Parent material for Elnora loamy fine sand includes sandy glaciofluvial, aeolian, and deltaic deposits. Classified as prime farmland, Elnora loamy fine sand has a slope of zero to three percent and is moderately well drained. A typical profile consists of loamy fine sand from zero to ten inches; loamy fine sand from 10 to 28 inches; and fine sand from 28 to 60 inches (Natural Resources Conservation Service 2017). Parent material for Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes includes coarse-loamy melt-out till derived from granite, gneiss, or schist. Classified as prime farmland, Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes is well drained. A typical profile consists of fine sandy loam from zero to seven inches; gravelly fine sandy loam from seven to 22 inches; and gravelly fine sandy loam from 22 to 65 inches (Natural Resources Conservation Service 2017).

This area was investigated because the Pine Cottage has historically been the residence of the male caretaker and his family – the only place on the property with a sustained male presence. A series of 20 shovel test units was excavated at 5m (16.4ft) intervals in the grassed areas of Area 3 to determine the location and extent of deposits; wooded areas, areas of steep slope, graded access road, and graded parking areas were excluded. Excavation unit 3A (S195E210) was placed because of the large number of artifacts recovered during shovel test excavations. Excavation unit 3B (S196E214) was placed to

explore a rocky feature with artifacts identified during shovel test excavations. Excavation unit 3C (S186E214) was located based on a possible feature identified during shovel test excavations.

Area 4

Area 4 spans the main lawn area located south of Lake House and north of Rose and Mayflower Cottages and bounded to the east by the graded access road to Lake House and to the west by the top of the slope down to Lake George (Figure 35). It is in a portion of the Wiawaka Holiday House property characterized as Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes (map symbol: ChB). Parent material for Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes includes coarse-loamy melt-out till derived from granite, gneiss, or schist. Classified as prime farmland, Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes is well drained. A typical profile consists of fine sandy loam from zero to seven inches; gravelly fine sandy loam from seven to 22 inches; and gravelly fine sandy loam from 22 to 65 inches (Natural Resources Conservation Service 2017).

Historical research indicated that the original Pine Cottage was located in the southeastern portion of Area 4; the northeastern portion may be associated with the original Crosbyside Hotel; and the remaining large lawn area was the site of leisure activities by guests of the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House. It is currently the location where many special events, including weddings, are held. A series of 41 shovel test excavations were dug across Area 4. Along the east-west axis, shovel test excavations were dug at 5m (16.4ft) intervals; on the north to south axis, shovel test

excavations were excavated at 10m (32.8ft) intervals, with alternating rows offset 5m (16.4ft) to maximize coverage with limited volunteer resources. No excavation units were placed in Area 4.

Area 5

Area 5 is located in the southwestern yard (the rear yard) of Fuller House (Figure 35). It is in a portion of the Wiawaka Holiday House property characterized as Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes (map symbol: ChB). Parent material for Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes includes coarse-loamy melt-out till derived from granite, gneiss, or schist. Classified as prime farmland, Charlton fine sandy loam, 3 to 8 percent slopes is well drained. A typical profile consists of fine sandy loam from zero to seven inches; gravelly fine sandy loam from seven to 22 inches; and gravelly fine sandy loam from 22 to 65 inches (Natural Resources Conservation Service 2017).

Based on historical photographs showing Wiawaka staff spending time on the rear porch, which extends from the kitchen back door (Figure 7), this area was investigated to see if evidence of Wiawaka staff was present. A series of 13 shovel test excavations were dug across Area 5 at 5m (16.4ft) intervals. Excluded from testing were heavily wooded areas, steeply sloped areas, areas identified by the Wiawaka caretaker as a septic field, and the extant herb garden. No excavation units were placed in Area 5.

Results

Results described here focus on excavations in Area 1 and Excavation Unit 2A and shovel test unit 2STP15. Descriptions of these results include soils, stratigraphy, and detailed information about the artifacts. Summary results are presented here for the remaining excavations in Areas 2, 3, 4, and 5. These summary results include highlights of artifacts and features identified. Detailed results for these areas are presented in the site report.

Area 1

This area was characterized by a large scatter of whitewares and glass in a forested area just east of Route 9L. Two excavation units were placed where the surface scatter appeared the densest; a series of shovel test units were excavated to determine the extent of the midden (Figure 38).

Shovel Test Excavations. A series of 28 shovel test units measuring no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter were excavated across the area to determine the extent of the midden (Table A-1). These were placed at 5m (16.4ft) intervals, with additional shovel test units excavated at 2.5m (8.2ft) intervals to increase accuracy. Soils associated with the midden consisted of a heavily organic layer of topsoil and degrading forest duff combined with sandy loam soils, to an average depth of 10.4cm (0.3ft). Colors of this organic layer were recorded as black, dark brown, and very dark brown. It was located above fill soils containing more artifacts. These fill deposits contained varying amounts of sand, silt, clay, and loam and had an average thickness of 18.6cm (0.6ft). Colors included very dark

Figure 38: Overview of excavation in Area 1. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

brown, dark yellowish brown, dark brown, and black. Beneath the fill layers were soils consistent with the surrounding, undisturbed stratigraphy (topsoil/plowzone and subsoil). As in the midden area, undisturbed (non-midden) soils in Area 1 were overlain by a rich organic layer of topsoil and degrading forest duff combined with sandy loam soils (average depth: 8.9cm / 0.3ft). Beneath this were topsoil/plowzone soils with an average thickness of 19.25cm (0.6ft). These silty, sandy, clay, loams ranged in color from dark yellowish brown to brown and very dark brown. They lay above the subsoil, comprised of sandy, silty, clay, loams ranging in color from brown to yellowish brown to dark yellowish brown.

Shovel test units indicated that the concentration of artifacts associated with the midden extended along the S155 transect, with artifact densities highest closest to the roadway and falling off rapidly to the east. Densities declined rapidly to the north and south, as though the midden filled a former wash. The midden extended from the roadway east into the woods, with a maximum width of approximately 18m (59.1ft). It had an irregular southern border; the north-south extent of the midden ranged from approximately 12.5m (41.0ft) to approximately 17m (55.8ft). Artifacts recovered from the two excavation units were consistent with the variety and types recovered from shovel test excavations across Area 1. Therefore, because of the quantity of objects recovered, no additional excavation units were dug in Area 1.

Excavation Units. Two excavation units measuring 1m by 1m (3.3ft by 3.3ft) were placed in areas with the densest visible surface scatter: excavation unit 1A was located at S155E341; excavation unit 1B was located at S156E343. The stratigraphy in both of these was similar, consisting of midden deposits over a buried topsoil layer and subsoil (Figure 39; Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Summary of Excavation Unit 1A Contexts

Context	Provenience (Catalog No.)	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Fill 1 Midden	1A1 (A2013.61.24) 1A2 (A2013.61.25) 1A3 (A2013.61.26) 1A4 (A2013.61.27)	0-29.9cm	10YR2/1 blk silty loam	14,003 (3,268 kept)
Fill 1 / Ab Midden / Buried Topsoil	1A5 (A2013.61.28)	29.9-39cm	7.5YR4/6 strg bn silty loam	489 (138 kept)
B1 Subsoil	1A6 (A2013.61.29)	39-48.8cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn silty loam	20 (11 kept)
B2 Subsoil	1A7	48.8+cm	7.5YR4/6 strg bn silty loam	N/A

* - Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; strg = strong; yw = yellow

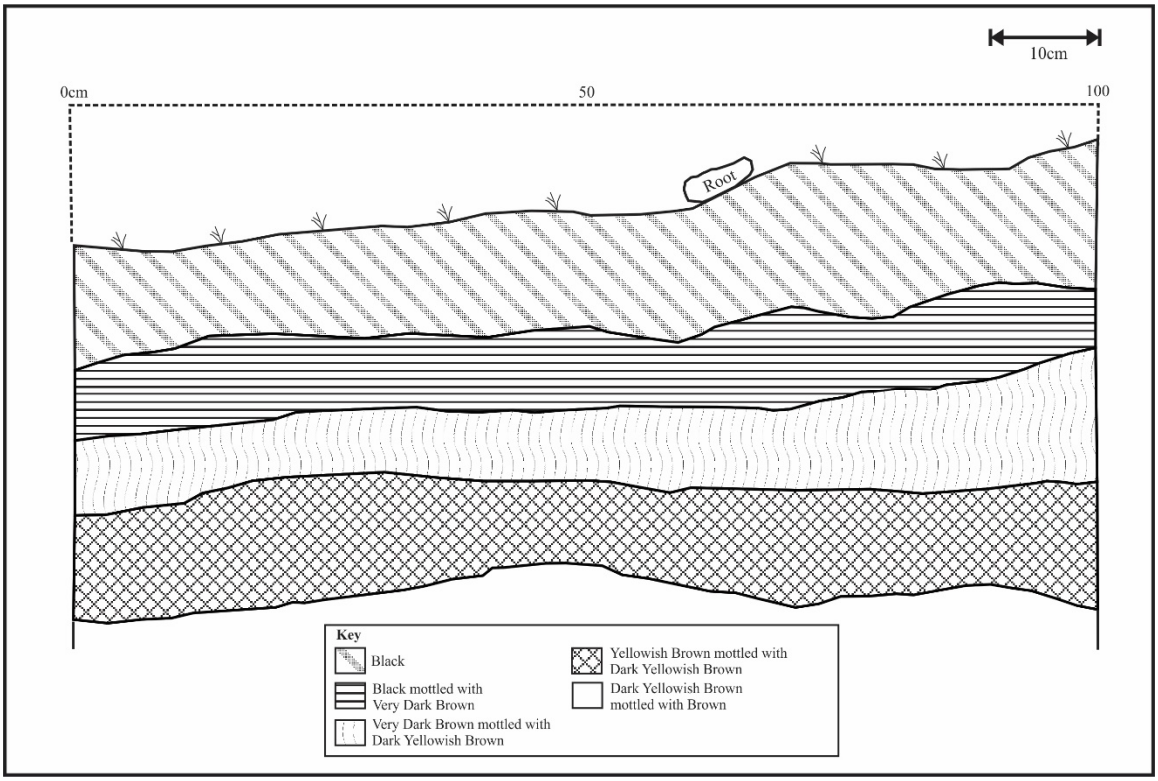

Figure 39: Profile, Excavation Unit 1B south wall.

Table 3: Summary of Excavation Unit 1B Contexts

Context	Provenience (Catalog No.)	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Fill 1 Midden	1B1 (A2013.61.31) 1B2 (A2013.61.32) 1B3 (A2013.61.33) 1B4 (A2013.61.34)	0-23.5cm	10YR2/1 blk m/w 10YR2/2 v dk bn silty loam	8,664 (610 kept)
Fill 1 / Ab Midden / Buried Topsoil	1B5 (A2013.61.35) 1B6 (A2013.61.36)	23.5-35cm	10YR3/3 dk bn m/w 10YR4/6 dk yw bn silty sandy loam	1,047 (124 kept)
B1 Subsoil	1B7 (A2013.61.37)	35-46.7cm	10YR5/6 yw bn m/w 10YR5/4 dk yw bn silty sandy clay	23 (8 kept)
B2 Subsoil	1B8	46.7+cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn m/w 10YR4/3 bn silty clay	N/A

* - Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; m/w = mottled with; strg = strong; v = very; yw = yellow

The lack of stratigraphy within the midden suggests that it is a secondary deposit from elsewhere. Located in a wooded area near the road in the extreme northwestern corner of the Wiawaka property located on the east side of Route 9L, the source of the midden was

initially uncertain. Except for a very small number of artifacts from earlier in the nineteenth century (i.e. a piece of blue feather edge creamware; A2013.61.33.45), dates of artifacts from the Area 1 midden ranged from 1870 to 1902, clustering from 1885 to 1902. An indication that this midden deposit is associated with the Wiawaka property (and was not dumped from elsewhere) is the presence of a unique black transfer printed whiteware, with stylized flowers and foliage that was also present in Areas 2 and 5 (Figure 40). In addition to several sherds, two 9-inch plates, a 7-inch plate, and a 5-inch rim from a hollowware vessel (possibly a coffee pot similar to one at Replacements Ltd. 2017) were recovered from Area 1 and a 9-inch plate and a 10-inch plate were recovered from Area 2. A makers' mark associated with this pattern (composite: JMD&S / 39562) may indicate that these vessels were imported from Britain by the Jones, McDuffee & Stratton firm in Boston, Massachusetts. They commissioned large quantities of ceramics from British manufacturers in various patterns, which were marked with their name and imported for the American market (Birks 2017a). The number may be an in-house pattern number; if it is a British pattern registry number, the pattern was registered in 1902 (McLeod and Boyle 2017). Dating from the 1870s to 1902, and originally from a deposit somewhere on the Wiawaka property, the Area 1 secondary midden is associated with the last years of the Crosbyside Hotel.

Recovered from well within the deposit (as opposed to being a surface find) was a bottle from United Vintners labeled in Imperial, "ONE QUART" (A2013.61.33.1). In 1979, a law passed in 1977 requiring the wine industry to use metric bottle sizes went into effect (Nix-Gomez 2013).

Figure 40: Black transfer print pattern found in both Wiawaka Holiday House and Crosbyside Hotel deposits (Replacements Ltd. 2017).

The industry standard for wine closures is known commonly by wine makers and aficionados as the Stelvin; it is this type of closure which was recovered on the United Vintners wine bottle. They were introduced in the 1960s (Amcor 2017). Thus, the secondary midden associated with the Crosbyside Hotel was deposited sometime during the 1960s or 1970s, perhaps associated with the construction of Lake House.

Because both excavation units contained secondary deposits associated with the Crosbyside Hotel, they are considered together. Excavation Units 1A and 1B were

excavated primarily in arbitrary levels of approximately 10cm (0.3ft) because of the depth of the deposits. A total of 24,246 artifacts were recovered, predominantly from the midden deposits; artifacts recovered from subsoil appear to have come from areas of root disturbance. Of these, 4,159 diagnostic artifacts and samples of non-diagnostic artifacts were retained. One piece of pre-contact ceramic (a rim with incised lines; A2013.61.26.239) and a piece of chert debitage were recovered from Excavation Units 1A and 1B, both from within the midden fill. No *in situ* evidence of pre-contact occupation was found in Area 1. The remaining 24,244 artifacts from Excavation Units 1A and 1B were historic.

A wide variety of artifact types were recovered from the excavation units in Area 1. These include architectural materials (brick, mortar, plaster, window glass, etc.); food remains (including a large number (n=1,652) of clam shell); ceramic and glass tablewares; utility ceramics (crocks); glass bottles, jars, and vials; metal cans (including large amounts of non-diagnostic flat metal from the sides); fuel and fuel by-products; lamp chimneys; and personal artifacts like buttons, jewelry, a religious medal, and a toy (Table 4). These deposits represent refuse from several aspects of the Crosbyside Hotel operations ranging from kitchen/food preparation (cans and food preparation vessels); food service (glass and ceramic tablewares); housekeeping (some of the bottles); and people on-site (personal artifacts, including a porcelain doll and clothing parts).

Table 4: Artifact Types by Context, Raw Counts: Excavation Units 1A and 1B (N=24,256; 4,146 kept)

Category	Details	Fill 1	Fill/B1	B1
ARCH	Brick	41 (8 kept)	23 (3 kept)	2
	Stone	40 (4 kept)	1	
	Mortar	222 (3 kept)		
	Plaster	23 (19 kept)	56 (2 kept)	
	Glass	574 (62 kept)	35 (7 kept)	
	Other	1,572 (15 kept)	2	
BIO	Faunal – Bone	39	12	
	Faunal – Shell	1,593 (52 kept)	59 (2 kept)	
	Human - Tooth	1		
COMM	Coin	1		
DOM	Ceramics – Tableware	1,922	94	4
	Ceramics – Utility	69	4	
	Glass – Indeterminate	1,986 (618 kept)	63 (44 kept)	3
	Glass – Tableware	86	11 (9 kept)	
	Glass – Bottle	218 (210 kept)	17 (15 kept)	
	Glass – Jar	18		
	Glass – Vial	3		
	Other	10		
FARM		16 (14 kept)	4	
FCONT	Cans and Closures	627 (148 kept)	16 (8 kept)	1
	Flat Metal	5,271 (58 kept)	427 (3 kept)	9 (0 kept)
FUEL	Coal	4,446 (17 kept)	434 (7 kept)	19 (4 kept)
	Fuel Byproducts	400 (26 kept)	76 (17 kept)	2
HDWR	Nail, Cut	224 (30 kept)	95 (8 kept)	2
	Nail, Wire	36 (22 kept)	3	
	Screw	2		
	Other	79 (35 kept)		
LIGHT	Lamp Chimney	1,024 (138 kept)	42 (8 kept)	
	Other	2		
OTHER	Lye	1,943 (14 kept)		
PERS	Ammunition	1		
	Clothing – Button	25		
	Clothing – Corset	48 (23 kept)	2	
	Clothing – Eyelet/Grommet	46	4	
	Clothing – Fastener, Other	3		
	Clothing – Footwear	25		
	Grooming – Mirror	7	1	
	Grooming – Other	4		
	Jewelry – Bead	13		
	Jewelry – Other	3		
	Straight Pins	21		
	Toy	1		
	Other	9		1
PRECON	Ceramic	1		
	Lithic – Debitage		1	
UNID		32 (25 kept)	1	
TOTALS:		**22,731 (3,865 kept)**	**1,475 (262 kept)**	**43 (19 kept)**

***** Key: ARCH = Architectural; BIO = Biological; COMM = Commerce; DOM = Domestic; FARM = Agricultural; FCONT = Food Containers; FUEL = Fuel Related; HDWR = Hardware; LIGHT = Lighting/Electric; MISC = Miscellaneous; PERS = Personal; PRECON = Precontact; UNID = Unidentified

Area 2

Area 2 is located in a wooded area immediately southeast of Lake House and west of the small creek that traverses the Wiawaka property (Figure 41). Visible on the surface was a brick-lined depression measuring approximately 8m (26.4ft) by 5m (16.4ft) (see Figure 23). Historic photographs indicate that the Crosbyside Hotel was located in this area.

Figure 41: Overview of excavations in Area 2. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Shovel Test Excavations. A series of 25 shovel test units measuring no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter were excavated across the area excavated at 5m (16.4ft) intervals to determine the presence and extent of additional deposits (Table A-2). Across Area 2 was a very dark brown to dark brown deep organic layer of forest duff and loam (average depth: 17.7cm / 0.6ft). Beneath it was a topsoil layer with an average thickness of 11.9cm (0.4ft). These silty sands and clays ranged in color from yellowish brown to dark

yellowish brown and dark brown. They lay above the silts, sands, and clays of the dark yellowish brown to very dark grayish brown subsoil. Pre-contact artifacts recovered from shovel test units in Area 2 included: a clear quartz scraper (A2013.61.42.18) from 2STP4; one piece of dark grey chert shatter from 2STP12; and a medium grey chert flake and the non-diagnostic tip of a medium grey chert projectile point (reported by the excavator to have come from subsoil) recovered from 2STP16. The presence of pre-contact artifacts in subsoil in Area 2 indicates the presence of a pre-contact site at this location. It is unknown how much of the site has been impacted by historic development here; further excavation is necessary to determine the integrity and extent of the pre-contact deposits.

Historic fill deposits were encountered in shovel tests 2STP1, 2STP2, 2STP9, 2STP12, and 2STP15. The highest concentration of artifacts (N=6,166; 684 discarded) was recovered from 2STP15 (S105E175). This shovel test was located within the brick-lined depression. It terminated at bedrock, 93cm (3.1ft) below ground surface. To the east of 2STP15, outside of the brick-lined depression, artifact numbers declined quickly as the ground surface sloped gently down towards the creek. The number of artifacts excavated in each shovel test also declined to the north and to the southwest, though extensive excavation was not done to the north due to the presence of the driveway for Lake House and steeply sloped ground. Two areas further south, extending into the wooded area, indicate that additional significant historic deposits are likely present nearby. A total of 267 artifacts (215 retained) were recovered from shovel test excavation 2STP7; 222 artifacts (88 retained) were recovered from 2STP4. Artifacts in both of these included

glass, ceramics, building materials, and fuel and fuel byproducts that are most likely associated with the Crosbyside Hotel. These deposits warrant future investigation.

Excavation Units: Three excavation units were dug in Area 2. Excavation Unit 2A (S106.25E176.5), measuring 1m by 2m (3.3ft by 6.6ft) was placed to straddle the interior and exterior of the depression. Excavation units 2B and 2C each measured 1m by 1m (3.3ft by 3.3ft); they were placed based on the results of shovel testing.

EXCAVATION UNIT 2A. Excavation Unit 2A (S106.25E176.5) was placed to straddle the interior and exterior of the depression visible on the ground surface measuring approximately 8m (26.4ft) by 5m (16.4ft). Excavation revealed that the depression was a mortared brick foundation built directly on bedrock (Figure 42). Identified as Feature 1, the brick was faced on the interior with a thin layer of concrete made with a relatively coarse black aggregate. This interior facing suggested that Feature 1 may have been a cistern, sealed on the interior to keep water from seeping out. More likely, however, is that Feature 1 was the brick vault of a privy large enough to handle the 200-guest capacity of the Crosbyside Hotel. The shallow depth to bedrock would have necessitated the sealing of the interior to prevent seepage of waste near the ground surface, as well as the regular cleaning-out of the privy so it didn't overflow (and to manage the smell emanating from it). If a drain feature existed, it would have diverted liquid waste out of the privy and into (based on the location of the privy and topography) the creek to the east. No evidence of this type of drainage was found during excavations in Area 2, but is something that future excavations could address.

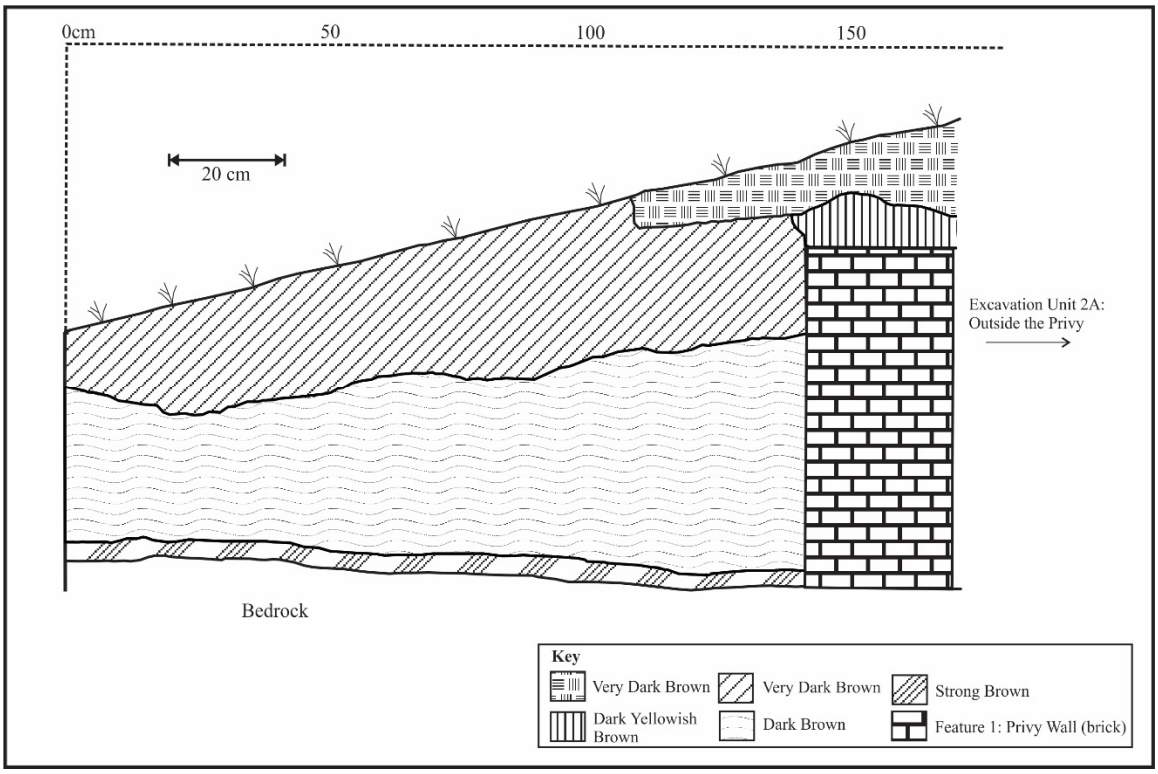

Figure 42: Profile, Excavation Unit 2A west wall, privy interior.

Evidence indicates that the privy was constructed in the nineteenth century. Portland cement was patented in 1824, with other cement formulas on the market by 1848. While the UK was the largest producer of Portland cement for most of the century, domestic American production of the ubiquitous construction material began in Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania in 1871 and made up half of the US Portland cement sales by the end of the nineteenth century (Simpson 1999:10). Based on the use of cement to line the privy, therefore, it is not possible to determine if the privy dates from the 1853 construction of the United States Hotel or from the mid-1870s expansion of the Crosbyside Hotel by Francis Crosby.

Artifacts recovered do not clarify the date of privy construction. Diagnostic artifacts from all contexts excavated from inside the privy date from the twentieth century (see Chapter 5), except for a very small handful of artifacts (n=5) recovered from two contexts: the last context removed from immediately above bedrock on the privy interior (2A14) and from shovel test unit 2STP15. Only after 2A14 had been excavated was it apparent that it contained two deposits: Fill 7, a dark yellow brown loamy sand, and Fill 8, a strong brown loamy sand approximately 4cm thick (0.1ft; Table 5). Fill 8 is interpreted as the residue left behind after a privy clean out. Nineteenth century artifacts recovered from 2A14 are assumed to come from Fill 8. Shovel test unit 2STP15 was excavated as a single context from the ground surface to bedrock. Stratigraphy of 2STP15 was consistent with that in excavation unit 2A; therefore, nineteenth century artifacts recovered from 2STP15 are also assumed to represent clean-out residue at the bottom of the privy. A summary of nineteenth century artifacts recovered from these two contexts are detailed in Table 6. It is not possible, using the artifacts recovered from inside the privy, to date its construction more accurately than sometime in the nineteenth century.

Beneath the modern topsoil which overlay all of Feature 1 were three fill layers (Fills 1 through 3) which, although generally overlaying the area outside of Feature 1, also extended above Feature 1 interior fills (Tables 7 and 8). This may represent slumping of exterior soils across the interior and grading of the surface following the destruction of the privy's superstructure, i.e. associated with the 1905 fire that burned the Crosbyside Hotel building and several outbuildings to the ground. That there was grading of the area

is indicated by the lack of a distinct burn layer (except for a small ashy inclusion in 2A16) in the soils outside of Feature 1 (see below).

Table 5: Summary of Excavation Unit 2A Contexts: Inside the Privy

Context	Provenience	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Fill 4	2A3	43.2-49cm	5YR2.5/1 blk sandy loam	862 (222 kept)
Fill 5	2A5, 2A6, 2A9, 2A10	49-67.4cm	7.5YR2.5/2 v dk bn sandy loam	9,344 (1,107 kept)
Fill 6	2A11, 2A13	67.4-87.6cm	7.5YR3/3 dk bn loamy sand	2,134 (447 kept)
Fill 7	2A14	87.6-ca.103cm	10YR 3/4 dk yw bn loamy sand	505 (85 kept)
Fill 8	2A14	ca. 103-107.4cm	Strong brown	
Bedrock	2A15	107.4cm	N/A	N/A

* - Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; v = very; yw = yellow

Table 6: Nineteenth century artifacts recovered from inside the privy

Provenience (Catalog No.)	Artifact	Date	Notes
2A14 (A2013.61.75.24)	Smoking pipe stem	Pre-1900	Machine-made cigarettes became possible in the late 1880s. In conjunction with an aggressive marketing campaign, cigarettes replaced pipe smoking by the turn of the century (Elliott 2009).
2A15 (A2013.61.53.38)	Glass ink well	Pre-1910	With the success of a self-filling mechanism for fountain pens (most successful patented 1908), they replaced dip pens and the need for ink wells (Daniels 1980:316).
2A15 (A2013.61.53.81)	Hand painted (late palette) ceramic tableware	Post-1830	Chrome colors post-date 1830 (Miller 2000:13)
2A15 (A2013.61.53.82)	Lusterware ceramic tableware	c.1860-late 19th century	Lusterware popular during this period (MAC Lab 2003a)
2A15 (A2013.61.53.119)	Annular tableware	1770s-early 20th century	Production dates; blue banding post-dates ca. 1850 (MAC Lab 2003b)

Table 7: Summary of Excavation Unit 2A Contexts: Overlying Interior and Exterior of Privy

Context	Provenience (Catalog No.)	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Topsoil, Modern	2A1 (A2013.61.62)	0-2cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam	358 (116 kept)
Fill 1 Exterior; slumps over interior fills	2A2 (A2013.61.63)	2-13cm	7.5YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	316 (76 kept)
Fill 2 Exterior; slumps over interior fills	2A4 (A2013.61.65)	13-13.5cm	10YR3/6 dk yw bn sandy loam	201 (44 kept)
Fill 3 Exterior; slumps over interior fills	2A7 (A2013.61.68)	13.5-25.4cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn sandy loam	138 (50 kept)

* - Key: bn = brown; dk = dark; v = very; yw = yellow

Inside the privy were five fills over bedrock (Fills 4 through 7; Table 5). Several of these were deep enough that they were excavated in arbitrary levels of approximately 10cm (0.3ft) each. A total of 9,736 artifacts were recovered from inside the privy (excluding contexts 2A12 and 2STP15). Of these, 745 diagnostic artifacts and samples of non-diagnostic artifacts were retained. Artifacts from contexts 2A12 and 2STP15 are considered separately, as they were excavated without stratigraphic control, and artifacts from later deposits are intermingled.

Fill 8, directly above the bedrock, represented materials left in the privy following a clean out. As described above, they date from the nineteenth century. There were no distinctions in the date ranges among or between Fills 4 through 7. All of these contexts post-date 1903 and are associated with Wiawaka Holiday House. None of the diagnostic artifacts have manufacturing dates beyond 1929, and several date from the mid-to-late 1910s. Absent from the deposits inside the privy was a burn layer that would have been deposited during the 1905 fire, further supporting deposition associated with Wiawaka Holiday House.

Table 8: Artifact Types by Context, Raw Counts: Excavation Unit 2A Contexts: Overlying Interior and Exterior of Privy (N=1,011; 289 kept)

Category	Details	Topsoil	Fill 1	Fill 2	Fill 3
ARCH	Brick	1	16 (2 kept)	8 (2 kept)	39 (2 kept)
	Stone – Foundation	5			
	Mortar	1	3 (2 kept)		4 (1 kept)
	Glass		2	7 (2 kept)	7
	Other	21 (4 kept)		1	3
BIO	Faunal – Bone	1		1	
	Floral			1	
DOM	Ceramics – Indeterminate	1			
	Ceramics – Tableware	35	20	5	1
	Ceramics – Utility	11	1	1	
	Glass – Indeterminate	22	25 (20 kept)	5	15
	Glass – Tableware		2		
	Glass – Bottle	1	2	10	
	Glass – Jar			2	
	Other				
FARM		2			
FCONT	Cans and Closures	28	26 (7 kept)	10 (5 kept)	1
	Flat Metal	216 (0 kept)	156 (0 kept)	112 (0 kept)	15 (0 kept)
FUEL	Coal	11 (2 kept)	38 (2 kept)	32 (3 kept)	28 (4 kept)
	Fuel Byproducts**	2	5 (4 kept)	3	3
HDWR	Nail, Cut		9 (1 kept)	1	10 (1 kept)
	Screw	2			
LIGHT	Lamp Chimney	2	3	2	5
	Lightbulb			1	
	Other		1		
PERS	Clothing – Eyelet/Grommet		4		
	Smoking Pipe			1	
PRECON	Lithic – Debitage	2	1		
UNID		2	2		1
TOTALS		**368 (124 kept)**	**316 (77 kept)**	**195 (44 kept)**	**132 (44 kept)**

* Key: ARCH = Architectural; BIO = Biological; COMM = Commerce; DOM = Domestic; FARM = Agricultural; FCONT = Food Containers (Cans); FUEL = Fuel Related; HDWR = Hardware; LIGHT = Lighting/Electric; MISC = Miscellaneous; PERS = Personal; PRECON = Precontact; UNID = Unidentified
** - Includes charcoal, clinker, and coal slag

Contexts within the privy contained a wide variety of artifacts, including architectural debris (dried paint, cut and wire nails, brick, etc.); ceramic and glass tablewares; utility ceramics (crocks); glass bottles and jars (including cosmetics and toiletry bottles as well as beverage and food containers); large numbers of metal cans (including very large

quantities of non-diagnostic flat metal from the sides of cans); fuel and fuel by-products; lighting glass (lamp chimneys and lightbulbs); and personal artifacts like buttons and clothing parts (see Table 9). These deposits represent refuse from several aspects of Wiawaka Holiday House operations: kitchen/food preparation (cans and food preparation vessels); food service (glass and ceramic tablewares); maintenance (dried paint and tools); and artifacts associated with the women on the site (personal artifacts, cosmetics and toiletry bottles) that were probably cleaned out of rooms and thrown away after guests left.

Based on the stratigraphic and artifact evidence, nineteenth century deposits inside the privy were cleaned out sometime after 1905. This clean-out removed the burn layer from the 1905 fire. The dates associated with the privy deposits (late 1910s through 1929) indicate that the privy was cleaned out well after the fire occurred (else presumably there would be earlier artifacts present). The lack of burnt and melted glass from Area 1 deposits suggests that the midden in Area 1 is not associated with post-fire clean-up. Also present in deposits from within the privy were three pieces of pre-contact chert debitage. How they ended up in this twentieth century context is unknown.

On the exterior of Feature 1 were eight fills (Fills 9 through 16) over subsoil and bedrock (Table 10). These contexts contained many fewer artifacts than other contexts in Excavation Unit 2A (n total = 396; 156 kept; Table 11). Artifacts recovered include architectural materials (brick, window glass, mortar); one animal tooth; one human tooth (perhaps lost in an accident during construction); glass and ceramic vessels including

Table 9: Artifact Types by Context, Raw Counts: Excavation Unit 2A: Inside the Privy (N=9,736; 745 kept)

Category	Details	Fill 4	Fill 5	Fill 6	Fill 7/8
ARCH	Brick	2	42 (13 kept)	40 (6 kept)	45 (2 kept)
	Stone – Foundation	1	1		
	Stone – Other				1
	Mortar	33 (3 kept)	248 (12 kept)	28 (8 kept)	277 (2 kept)
	Plaster			1	
	Glass	10	53 (19 kept)	38 (11 kept)	22 (4 kept)
	Concrete	3 (0 kept)			
	Other	9 (8 kept)	209 (14 kept)	9	4 (1 kept)
BIO	Faunal – Bone	6	5	13	11
	Faunal – Shell				1 (0 kept)
	Floral				2
DOM	Ceramics – Indeterminate		8	1	
	Ceramics – Tableware	38	484	172	16
	Ceramics – Utility	7	22	7	
	Ceramics – Other		1	4	
	Glass – Indeterminate	50	215 (118 kept)	159 (110 kept)	32 (22 kept)
	Glass – Tableware	160 (8 kept)	20	4	5
	Glass – Bottle	1	20	7	
	Glass – Jar		5		
	Glass – Other	1			1
	Other		2		
FARM			10 (8 kept)	2	
FCONT	Cans and Closures	152 (32 kept)	527 (124 kept)	127 (31 kept)	5 (3 kept)
	Flat Metal	293 (0 kept)	7,037 (0 kept)	1,167 (0 kept)	43 (0 kept)
FUEL	Coal	36 (6 kept)	220 (8 kept)	99 (4 kept)	12 (2 kept)
	Fuel Byproducts**	13 (3 kept)	55 (19 kept)	23 (8 kept)	6 (0 kept)
HDWR	Nail, Cut	6	23 (6 kept)	15 (3 kept)	10 (6 kept)
	Nail, Wire		4 (3 kept)	1	
	Nail, Indeterminate			11 (2 kept)	
	Screw			1	
	Tool	1	4		
	Other		9		
LIGHT	Lamp Chimney	18	73 (26 kept)	33 (24 kept)	10 (5 kept)
	Lightbulb		2	2	
	Other	1	1	3	
OTHER		9	1	5	
PERS	Clothing – Button		3	1	
	Clothing – Eyelet/Grommet		3		
	Clothing – Footwear	10	28		
	Grooming – Mirror		1		
	Smoking Pipe				1
	Other	4	3		
PRECON	Lithic – Debitage		2	1	

Category	Details	Fill 4	Fill 5	Fill 6	Fill 7/8
UNID		1	17		1
TOTALS:		**865 (226 kept)**	**9,358 (1,012 kept)**	**1,974 (441 kept)**	**515 (85 kept)**

* - Key: ARCH = Architectural; BIO = Biological; DOM = Domestic; FARM = Agricultural; FCONT = Food Containers (Cans); FUEL = Fuel Related; HDWR = Hardware; LIGHT = Lighting/Electric; PERS = Personal; PRECON = Precontact; UNID = Unidentified
** - Includes charcoal, clinker, and coal slag

tablewares and bottles; fuel and fuel byproducts; cut nails; lamp chimney glass; and a small number of personal artifacts (two buttons, mirror glass, a pipe stem, and a .22 caliber bullet casing). Except for Fill 9, which contains a post-1885 Remington Arms .22 caliber rimfire casing (Fitchett 2017), these fills are likely associated with the nineteenth century construction of the privy vault on subsoil. None of the artifacts recovered from outside the privy provide any information to allow a more precise date for its construction.

Table 10: Summary of Excavation Unit 2A Contexts: Outside the Privy

Context	Provenience	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Fill 9	2A8	25.4-35.4cm	10YR3/6 dk yw bn sandy loam	60 (17 kept)
Fill 10	2A16	35.4-45.5cm	7.5YR4/6 strg bn sandy loam, 10YR 5/2 gry bn ashy patch	92 (34 kept)
Fill 11	2A17, 2A18, Feature 2 (not a feature)	45.5-62.5cm	10YR3/6 dk yw bn sandy loam	182 (80 kept)
Fill 12	2A19, 2A20	62.5-77cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn sandy loam	42 (11 kept)
Fill 13	2A21	79-83cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn sandy clay	10 (7 kept)
Fill 14	2A22	83.5-92.3cm	10YR3/6 dk yw bn	8 (5 kept)
Fill 15	2A23	92.3-101.5cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn clay	2 (2 kept)
Fill 16	2A24	101.5-110cm	10YR5/6 yw bn silty clay	None
Subsoil	2A24		7.5YR4/6 rd silty clay	None
Bedrock	2A15	110cm	N/A	N/A

* - Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; gry = gray; rd = red; strg = strong; v = very; yw = yellow

Table 11: Artifact Types by Context, Raw Counts: Excavation Unit 2A: Outside the Privy (N=396; 156 kept)

Category	Details	Fill 9	Fill 10	Fill 11	Fill 12	Fill 13	Fill 14	Fill 15	Fill 16/B
ARCH	Brick	38 (3 kept)	7 (1 kept)	63 (8 kept)	33 (2 kept)	5 (2 kept)	5 (2 kept)	1	3
	Mortar		1						
	Glass		5 (2 kept)	6 (3 kept)	1				
	Other	1							
BIO	Faunal – Tooth			1					
	Human Tooth	2							
DOM	Ceramics – Tableware	2	2	4					
	Glass – Indeterminate	9	17 (12 kept)	52 (45 kept)	4		1	1	
	Glass – Tableware			2					
	Glass – Bottle		1	2	1				
FUEL	Coal	1	9 (2 kept)	42 (6 kept)	2	2			1
	Fuel Byproducts**	6	32 (6 kept)	2	1		1		
HDWR	Nail, Cut		4 (1 kept)	2		1	1		
	Nail, Indeterminate	1		2					
LIGHT	Lamp Chimney	2	10 (2 kept)	1		2			
PERS	Ammunition	1							
	Clothing – Button	1	1						
	Grooming – Mirror		1	1					
	Smoking Pipe - Stem			1					
PRECON	Lithic – Debitage	1							
UNID		8 (0 kept)	2						
TOTALS:		**73 (30 kept)**	**92 (26 kept)**	**181 (80 kept)**	**42 (11 kept)**	**10 (7 kept)**	**8 (5 kept)**	**2 (2 kept)**	**4 (4 kept)**

* - Key: ARCH = Architectural; BIO = Biological; DOM = Domestic; FARM = Agricultural; FCONT = Food Containers (Cans); FUEL = Fuel Related; HDWR = Hardware; LIGHT = Lighting/Electric; PERS = Personal; PRECON = Precontact; UNID = Unidentified

** - Includes charcoal, clinker, and coal slag

EXCAVATION UNIT 2B. Two shovel tests (2STP1 and 2STP2) excavated just inside the wooded area at the base of a slope extending down from the Lake House parking area produced large numbers of artifacts, including those suggesting that the burn layer from the 1905 fire may be present here. The large quantities of destruction debris – including architectural ceramic from a feature such as a fireplace mantle -- further suggested that these deposits were associated with the burnt Crosbyside Hotel. A total of 545 artifacts (79 retained) were recovered from 2STP1 (S105E165); 870 artifacts (74 retained) were recovered from 2STP2 (S110E165). Excavation unit 2B (S110E166.25) was dug to further explore these deposits – in particular the deep fill deposits in 2STP2. Contexts from Unit 2B are summarized in Table 12.

Beneath several deep fills containing demolition debris and burnt artifacts associated with the 1905 destruction of the Crosbyside Hotel was a portion of the hotel's foundation. Extending from the southwest to the northeast of the unit, the alignment of the stone foundation matches that of the brick-lined feature investigated in unit 2A. The top of this feature (Feature 4) was located 81cm (2.7ft) below ground surface; it filled the southeast third of the excavation unit. A series of six additional fills were identified in the northwest of unit 2B. These appeared to be fills from the interior of the hotel foundation. Very few artifacts were recovered from these layers, and they were all non-diagnostic. Excavation was stopped at 119cm (3.9ft) below ground surface because of limited access. It is not possible from the limited excavation conducted to determine whether this foundation dates from the 1853 construction of the United States Hotel, or from the later, mid-1870s expansion of the Crosbyside Hotel.

Table 12: Summary of Excavation Unit 2B Contexts

Context	Provenience	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Fill 1 Destruction	2B1, 2B2, 2B3	0-28cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam	1,168 (216 kept)
Fill 2 Destruction	2B4	28-40cm	7.5YR4/1 dk gy sandy loam w. ash and mortar	978 (44 kept)
Fill 3 Destruction	2B5, 2B6, 2B7, 2B8, 2B9	40-76cm	7.5YR3/2 dk bn sandy loam w. lens of 10YR5/4 yw bn silty sand	3,932 (601 kept)
Fill 4 Destruction	2B10	76-86cm	7.5YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	123 (25 kept)
Foundation	Feature 4	81cm-119cm+	N/A	N/A
Fill 5 Interior	2B11	86-89cm	5YR3/3 dk rd bn loamy silty sand	31 (8 kept)
Fill 6 Interior	2B12	89-96cm	7.5YR4/6 strg bn silty sand	15 (10 kept)
Fill 7 Interior Redeposited subsoil?	2B13	96-98cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn silty sand	96 (8 kept)
Fill 8 Interior Construction Redeposited topsoil?	2B14	98-105cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam	36 (9 kept)
Fill 9 Interior Construction	2B15	105-119cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn silty clay	53 (8 kept)
Fill 10	2B16	119+cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn sandy silt	N/A

* - Key: bn = brown; dk = dark; gy = gray; rd = red; v = very; yw = yellow

EXCAVATION UNIT 2C. Between the privy and the shovel tests with burnt deposits was 2STP16. As well as historic artifacts, two pre-contact artifacts were recovered from this shovel test unit: a chert flake, and the non-diagnostic tip of a projectile point which was, according to the excavators, recovered from subsoil. Excavation unit 2C (S104.25E172.5) was placed to determine if further non-disturbed evidence of pre-contact occupation was present in this area, as well as to examine the area between the extensive hotel debris to the west and the brick-lined privy to the east. Contexts from Excavation Unit 2C are summarized in Table 13.

Table 13: Summary of Excavation Unit 2C Contexts

Context	Provenience	Depth	Soils*	Total Artifacts
Ao	2C1, 2C2	0-20cm	10YR2/1 blk sandy loam	1,042 (420 kept)
Topsoil (A)	2C3, 2C4, 2C5	20-50cm	10YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	253 (93 kept)
Topsoil/Subsoil interface (A/B)	2C6	50-65cm	7.5YR4/4 bn silty sandy loam	22 (12 kept)
Subsoil (B1)	2C7	65-68cm	7.5YR4/4 bn silty clay	2 (2 kept; probably fell in)
Subsoil (B2)	2C8, 2C9	68-77cm+	7.5YR4/6 strg bn silty sandy clay	2 (2 kept; probably fell in)

* - Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; strg = strong

Artifacts recovered from Excavation Unit 2C date from the nineteenth century and were of types consistent with the artifacts recovered from Area 1 including thick bodied ceramic tablewares and Bibbey & Ferguson bottles. Evidence of the 1905 fire, however, was much more pronounced here, with several examples of glass burnt beyond recognition as well as ceramics with cinders trapped in glazes that melted in the hot fire. No pre-contact artifacts were recovered from Excavation Unit 2C. The small number of artifacts recovered from subsoil contexts likely fell into the unit during excavation.

Area 3

Area 3 is located around the extant Pine Cottage, built in 1907 after the original Pine Cottage burned in the 1905 fire (Figure 43). This Pine Cottage was built away from the main concentration of Holiday House buildings as a residence for the Wiawaka caretaker. This area was investigated because the Pine Cottage has historically been the residence of the male caretaker and his family – the only place on the Wiawaka property with a sustained male presence, the only structure inhabited for multiple years by the same residents, and the only structure inhabited year-round.

Figure 43: Aerial overview of Area 3. Photograph by Peter Pepe, Pepe Productions.

Shovel Test Excavations. A series of 20 shovel test units measuring no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter were excavated at 5m (16.4ft) intervals in the two grassy areas of Area 3 to determine the location, character, and extent of deposits: the rear yard of Pine Cottage and grassy area extending from the building east to Route 9L. Wooded areas, areas of steep slope, graded access road and graded parking areas were excluded. While shovel test excavations behind Pine Cottage revealed several fills, those in the grassy area to the east generally contained no fills (Table A-3).

Areas without fill may have been plowed. Depths of the strata varied considerably across Area 3, perhaps indicative of the movement of water down the mountain and erosion. Where an organic layer of loam/sandy loam overlay other deposits, it tended to be dark

(dark brown to black) and quite thin (less than 5cm / 0.2ft). Topsoil in Area 3 ranged from dark yellowish brown to black sandy, clayey, loam. Thicknesses ranged from 3cm (0.1ft) to 15.5cm (0.5ft). Several shovel test excavations revealed a topsoil/subsoil layer (A/B) of dark brown to dark yellowish brown loamy sand and clay with thicknesses ranging from 7cm (0.2ft) to 24cm (0.8ft). Subsoil was encountered as shallow as 3cm (0.1ft) and as deep as 33cm (1.1ft) below ground surface. Colors of subsoil ranged from yellow brown to dark yellowish brown, and consisted of loamy sands and clays. Very few artifacts were recovered from the shovel test units excavated in the side yard.

Fills identified in shovel test units behind Pine Cottage varied widely, both in composition and thickness. Soils in these fills ranged widely in color (dark yellowish brown, brown, very dark grayish brown, green gray, red gray, very dusky red, and very dark brown) and consisted of loam, sand, clay, and ash. Three excavation units were placed to more closely examine the historic fills in the rear yard of Pine Cottage.

Excavation Units: Three excavation units were dug in Area 3. All measured 1m by 1m (3.3ft by 3.3ft), and all were placed based on the results of shovel testing.

EXCAVATION UNIT 3A. Excavation unit 3A (S195E210) was placed because of the large number of artifacts recovered from fill deposits in 3STP3. The contexts from Excavation Unit 3A are summarized in Table 14. They consisted of a modern topsoil layer over 6 fills which in turn overlay a buried topsoil layer (35cm / 1.1ft below ground

surface), a topsoil/subsoil interface, and natural subsoil. Dug into the buried topsoil layer was a pit (Feature 7).

Table 14: Summary of Excavation Unit 3A Contexts

Context	Provenience	Depth*	Soils**	Total Artifacts
A Topsoil	3A1 (A2013.61.130)	0-6.5cm	10YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	294 (62 kept)
Fill 1	3A2 (A2013.61.131)	6.5-8cm	10YR5/8 yw bn loamy sand	195 (32 kept)
Fill 2	3A3 (A2013.61.132)	8-12cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam w. 7.5YR5/1 bn gy ash	304 (40 kept)
Fill 3	3A5 (A2013.61.134)	12-23cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam, gravel	574 (147 kept)
Fill 4	3A4 (A2013.61.133)	21-32cm	5Y6/1 gy ash and mortar w. 10YR2/2 v dk bn loamy sand	1,234 (51 kept)
Fill 5	3A6 (A2013.61.135)	23-29cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn sandy loam w. 10YR6/2 lt bn gy ash	975 (165 kept)
Fill 6	3A7 (A2013.61.136) 3A8 (A2013.61.137)	29-35cm	10YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	700 (142 kept)
Feature 7	Feature 7 (A2013.61.146)	41-48cm	10YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	34 (14 kept)
Ab Buried Topsoil	3A9 (A2013.61.138) 3A10 (A2013.61.139)	35-46cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn sandy silty loam	80 (24 kept)
Ab / B Buried Topsoil / Subsoil	3A11 (A2013.61.140)	42.5-47.5cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn m/w 10YR3/4 dk yw bn sandy silty clay	2 kept
B Subsoil	3A12 3A13	47.5+cm	10YR4/4 dk yw bn sandy clay	

* Depths measured from below the highest corner of the excavation unit.
** Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; gy = gray; m/w = mottled with; v = very; yw = yellow

Artifacts recovered from Excavation Unit 3A dated primarily to the early decades of the twentieth century. The fills in the yard may have been deposited to raise the ground surface at the time the Pine Cottage was built here (1907), or may have accumulated since. Given the proximity of this excavation unit to the ice house, these deep fills may also have been placed here during construction to act as a large French drain, keeping

water moving away from the ice house (good drainage is one of the key features of a successful ice house; see, for example, Grow 1990; Halsted 1881; Moore 1803). Artifacts in the fills were consistent with a Wiawaka Holiday House occupation, and may represent a secondary deposit from a midden elsewhere on the site (for another example of midden deposits reused for ice house drainage, see Springate 1997). Further excavation closer to the ice house and Pine Cottage should serve to clarify the deposition timeline relative to construction of these buildings, and whether the fills served a particular purpose such as drainage.

EXCAVATION UNIT 3B. Excavation unit 3B (S196E214) was placed to explore a rocky area with artifacts identified during shovel test excavations (3STP5). The contexts from Excavation Unit 3B are summarized in Table 15. Strata within this unit were complex, and complicated by the presence of large cobbles throughout. In general, they consisted of a layer of modern topsoil over three fill layers, a buried topsoil horizon, a topsoil/subsoil interface, and undisturbed subsoil. Artifacts dated from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and included a considerable amount of architectural materials.

EXCAVATION UNIT 3C. Excavation unit 3C (S186E214) was located just off the southeast corner of the ice house, based on a possible feature identified during shovel test excavations (3STP7). The contexts from Excavation Unit 3C are summarized in Table 16. The stratigraphy in this excavation unit consisted of a modern topsoil layer over three fills. These were present above a buried topsoil layer and two subsoils. Dug into the buried topsoil layer was a feature (Feature 9). Based on the presence of twentieth century

Table 15: Summary of Excavation Unit 3B Contexts

Context	Provenience	Depth*	Soils**	Total Artifacts
A Topsoil	3B1 (A2013.61.148)	13.5-17.5cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam	201 (48 kept)
Fill 1	3B2 (A2013.61.149) 3B3 (A2013.61.150)	17.5-25cm	10YR2/1 blk sandy loam w. 10YR3/3 dk bn lens	320 (158 kept)
Fill 2	3B4 (A2013.61.151) Feature 6 Level 1 (A2013.61.157) Feature 6 Level 2 (A2013.61.158)	25-52cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn loamy clay	78 (37 kept)
Fill 3	3B5 (A2013.61.152)	28-43cm	10YR3/6 dk yw bn sandy clay	8 (7 kept)
Not a Level	3B6	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ab Buried Topsoil	3B7 (A2013.61.153) 3B8 (A2013.61.154)	33-41cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn sandy clay	56 (12 kept)
Ab/B Buried Topsoil / Subsoil	3B9 (A2013.61.155)	53-57cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn m/w 10YR3/3 sandy clay	13 (2 kept)
B Subsoil	3B10 3B11	57+cm	10YR3/3 dk yw bn silty loam	N/A

* - Depths measured from below the highest corner of the excavation unit.
** - Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; gy = gray; m/w = mottled with; v = very; yw = yellow

Table 16: Summary of Excavation Unit 3C Contexts

Context	Provenience	Depth*	Soils**	Total Artifacts
A Topsoil	3C1 (A2013.61.159)	5-11cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam	14 (10 kept)
Fill 1	3C2 (A2013.61.160)	11-12cm	10YR2/1 blk sandy loam w. pebbles	97 (33 kept)
Fill 2	3C3 (A2013.61.161)	12-17cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn sandy loam	303 (84 kept)
Fill 3	3C4 (A2013.61.162)	17-24cm	10YR3/3 dk bn sandy loam	68 (25 kept)
Feature 9 Level 1	Feature 9 Level 1 (A2013.61.167)	19-53cm	10YR2/1 blk loam, loose	43 (12 kept)
Feature 9 Level 2	Feature 9 Level 2 (A2013.61.168)	33-41cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn sandy clay	56 (12 kept)
Feature 9 Level 3	Feature 9 Level 3 (A2013.61.166)	41-50.5cm	7.5YR2.5/3 v dk bn sandy clay	1 (kept)
Ab Buried Topsoil	3C5 (A2013.61.163)	24-30cm	10YR3/3 dk bn loamy clay	80 (34 kept)
Not a level	3C6	N/A	N/A	N/A
Subsoil (B1)	3C7 (A2013.61.164)	30-35.5cm	10YR4/4 dk yw bn sandy loamy clay	2 (2 kept; may have fallen in)
Subsoil (B2)	3C8 (A2013.61.165) 3C9	35.5-43.5cm+	10YR3/8 dk yw bn sandy loam	6 (2 kept; may have fallen in)

* Depths measured from below the highest corner of the excavation unit. The ground slopes from east to west here.
** Key: blk = black; bn = brown; dk = dark; gy = gray; v = very; yw = yellow

wire nails and charred wood within it, as well as the recovery of a piece of insulator from knob and tube wiring in the overlying strata (1880-1930s; A2013.61.160.7; Wikipedia 2017a) this feature may have once been the location of a support pole for carrying electricity into the ice house, either for lighting during the period it was still in use for ice, or afterwards when the building became used for storage and a work shed. Like elsewhere in Area 3, artifacts from Excavation Unit 3C dated predominantly from the very late nineteenth century into the early decades of the twentieth century. The presence of heavily melted glass suggests that, like fill deposits in Excavation Unit 3A, these may have come from elsewhere on site (i.e. post-1905 fire deposits) as fill or drainage. The location of the original ice house that was destroyed in the 1905 fire is unknown; it may have been at or near the location of the existing structure. Additional excavations against the exterior of the ice house will help answer these questions.

Area 4

Area 4 is located on the large lawn area between Lake House and Rose Cottage, extending from the drop off at the edge of the lake east to the access road to Lake House (Figure 44). A summary of the results from this area are presented here.

Shovel Test Excavations. A series of 41 shovel test units measuring no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter were excavated to sample the deposits in this area, which has long been used for recreation. Along the east-west axis, shovel test excavations were dug at 5m (16.4ft) intervals; on the north-south axis, shovel tests were excavated at 10m (32.8ft) intervals with alternating rows offset 5m (16.4ft) to maximize coverage. No excavation units were dug in Area 4.

Figure 44: Overview, shovel testing in Area 4. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Natural stratigraphy across Area 4 consisted generally of an organic layer of dark brown/very dark brown/very dark grayish brown loam and sandy loam ranging in thickness from 1cm (0.03ft) to 7cm (0.2ft) over topsoil (dark yellowish brown to dark brown to very dark grayish brown) of sandy and silty loam from 5cm (0.2ft) to 18cm (0.6ft) thick. Beneath the topsoil were a topsoil/subsoil interface (dark yellowish brown and very dark grayish brown mixed loam, clay, and sand from 5cm / 0.2ft to 16cm / 0.5ft thick) and dark yellowish brown subsoils of sand, loam, and clay (see Table A-4). Of particular note in Area 4 were those shovel test excavations with evidence of the 1905 fire, including 4STP2, 4STP6, 4STP8 through 4STP10, 4STP14, and 4STP17. Although the fire was extremely hot, causing glass to melt into unidentifiable lumps, ceramic glazes to melt, and foundation stones to explode, some evidence of the material culture at

Wiawaka Holiday House in 1905 survived, including a cast iron quoit (A2013.61.180.5) used in a lawn game similar to horseshoes. Also of note is 4STP33, which contained building hardware (an escutcheon; A2013.61.195.3) that may be associated with the original Pine Cottage that was located in this area. Further excavations in both of these areas can provide more information on about both the early years of Wiawaka Holiday House and the Crosbyside Hotel.

Area 5

Area 5 is located in the rear yard area of Fuller House (Figure 45). It was located in this area to see if deposits associated with the labor of leisure could be identified. These would include evidence of Wiawaka staff or work commonly done out of sight of the guests. A summary of the results from this area are presented here.

Shovel Test Excavations. A series of 13 shovel test units measuring no more than 0.25m (0.8ft) in diameter were excavated at 5m (16.4ft) intervals to sample the deposits in this area. No excavation units were dug in Area 5. Most of the shovel excavation units encountered at least one fill (Table A-5).

Where natural stratigraphy existed across Area 5, it consisted generally of an organic layer over topsoil, a topsoil/subsoil interface, and subsoil. The organic layer was thin, ranging from only 1cm (0.03ft) to 4cm (0.1ft); it consisted of sandy loam or loam, and ranged in color from dark yellowish brown to very dark brown. Topsoil (dark yellowish brown to very dark brown) consisted of sandy loam and ranges in thickness from 6cm

(0.2ft) to 19cm (0.6ft). The topsoil/subsoil interface ranges from 4cm (0.1ft) to 9cm (0.3ft) thick of dark brown or dark yellowish brown sandy clay and sandy loam. Subsoils are dark yellowish brown sandy loam, beginning at depths ranging from 8cm (0.3ft) to 20cm (0.6ft) below ground surface.

Figure 45: Overview, shovel testing in Area 5. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

A wide variety of historic artifacts associated with both the 1903 to 1905 period of Wiawaka Holiday House and the Crosbyside Hotel were recovered from Area 5. In addition, chert debitage was recovered from several shovel test units. Primarily pieces of shatter debitage, it is unclear if they are naturally occurring or worked by humans.

Excavations in five areas across the Wiawaka Holiday House property consisted of eight excavation units and 125 shovel test excavations. A total of 78,557 artifacts were recovered; of these, 13,843 were retained according to the discard protocol established in consultation with the New York State Museum. Just as the descriptions of excavations here focused on Excavation Units 1A and 1B (Crosbyside Hotel, ca. 1870-1902) and Excavation Unit 2A and 2STP15 (Wiawaka Holiday House, ca. mid-1910s to 1929), so do does the analysis of these materials in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Analysis

This analysis focuses on artifacts associated with the last decades of the Crosbyside Hotel (ca. 1870 – 1902) and the mid-1910s to 1929 from Wiawaka Holiday House. In the interval between these two assemblages, the nature of America had changed. Women were increasingly employed in an expanding number of jobs and professions and increasingly taking advantage of public leisure activities. Social reform organizations run by middle-class women -- like the Girls' Friendly Society, the YWCA, and others -- organized educational and social programs for this increasing population. These programs served to educate and empower working women; to control them (by keeping them off the streets and shaping their leisure time); and to protect them from urban ills (particularly sexual promiscuity, rape, and vice). These programs were simultaneously places of uplift, pleasure, education, assimilation, and oppression. By thinking of these organizations and places in the context of trans theory, it is not necessary to determine which of these qualities was paramount; all of these oppositional qualities can exist together.

Several organizations, including the Girls' Friendly Society, opened holiday houses for women. At Wiawaka Holiday House, the purpose was to provide "virtuous" working women with an affordable vacation in the healing and rejuvenating Adirondack Mountains, on the shores of Lake George. The requirement that the "working girls" be "virtuous" is perhaps the clearest indication of the role of respectability at Wiawaka. Run by wealthy women largely from Troy, New York and New York City, the ideals of

respectability were firmly those of the white middle class. It was at women's holiday houses like Wiawaka that working women were introduced to the vacation habit, formerly limited to the middle class.

Also with the turn of the century came a shift from industrial capitalism to consumer capitalism, a significant change in the source of profit for wealthy capitalists. Capitalism is a system based on the recurring cycle of production and consumption (Marx 1978:227). Under industrial capitalism, capitalists made profit based on the labor of the workers. This profit relied on selling "a few things to the richest people" (Filene 1930:8). As mechanization, expanding transportation networks, and other revolutions in production (like the assembly line) increased, so too did industrial productivity (Dubofsky 1996:93-95; Trachtenberg 1982). Production outstripped the need of "a few things," which created a crisis of capitalism that was framed not as a problem of overproduction but of under-consumption (Foster and Catchings 1925; Hobson 1910); instead of supply meeting demand, as it had in the past, the supply (production) side needed to create demand (Bernays 1928:63). The result was a shift to consumer capitalism, the goal of which was to sell "great quantities of things to great masses of people" (Filene 1930:8). Workers took on new importance as both sources of labor AND as consumers. It was in this climate that the advertising industry developed, creating markets by convincing people of their need for goods. This included the development of beauty culture and the selling of cosmetics as a system (Pond's) and the "whisper" campaigns that sold goods like deodorant (Odo-Ro-No) by appealing to basic personal

anxieties (Peiss 2011; Williams 1980:418. For a more detailed look at this process, see Roller 2015a).

The following analysis addresses both the research questions posed in Chapter 1, but also examines the roles of capitalism, respectability politics, and the political connections of these interpretations to the present. What do the material and documentary records tell us about personal identities – specifically race, class, and gender – during the Crosbyside and Wiawaka periods, particularly as they relate to industrial and consumer capitalism? What do they tell us about how different groups of people spent their vacation time? How do we distinguish the labor of leisure from leisure in these assemblages, and how does the labor of leisure differ at Crosbyside and at Wiawaka? What were the experiences of the guests at Crosbyside and at Wiawaka? Were the experiences of the working class and middle class women at Wiawaka different? What do the artifacts recovered reveal about changes in mission, ideology, and/or visitors over time on the property? Can these changes be linked to societal shifts? What was the role of various identities (race/class/gender) in the formation and performance of these ideologies? What were the power relationships inherent in these ideologies, and how to we see them in the materialities of the site? The concepts of Third Space, queer performance, and trans theory will be used to approach these questions, using an intersectional lens.

In addition to asking these questions, recognizing that the past is used in the present and that archaeology is therefore inherently political, I framed my excavations at Wiawaka Holiday House as an explicitly feminist project committed to community engagement

and fostering public education about archaeology. I also strove to use the heterotopias of a holiday resort and a women's retreat – both by being present and excavating them in the present, but also looking at the evidence from the past -- as a way to make visible the ways that gender, class, and race are essentialized, performed and enforced intersectionally both in the past and in the present; how interpretations and understandings of past gender, sexuality, and class are used politically to enforce and reinforce current society; and to engage with people about how our knowledge of the past is created. Homi Bhabha's Third Space is the intellectual space in which these ideologies are formed, and where they can be pierced by revealing that they are non-essential and culturally specific.

The Crosbyside Hotel and Leisure in an Industrial Capitalist Age

The United States Hotel opened on what are now the grounds of the Wiawaka Center for Women in 1853 and was very quickly put out of business by the expansive and luxurious Fort William Henry Hotel when it opened in 1855 (Corbett 2001:52; Tolles Jr. 2003:40-41; Warren County Historical Society 2009:248). Both of these hotels, and the Crosbyside which opened in the old United States Hotel building in 1857, were designed as destinations for members of the newly formed American middle class. This new class, intermediary between the elites, who grew rich on the profits generated by the working class, and the working class itself, developed with the industrialization of production in America. The industrial capitalism of this period focused on creating wealth through the industrial manufacture of goods. The new class of managers made it possible for a small number of elites to profit from a growing labor force working in larger and larger

factories, rather than the smaller-scale craft production that predates the Industrial Revolution. Neither elite nor laborer, fish nor fowl, the middle class invented itself in opposition to both the "unwholesome" working and "untrustworthy" elite classes (Kammen 1978:221-229; Ryan 1981:238). Published books and social interactions codified and prescribed the behaviors, manners, and mores which would, through their proper performance (a la Butler), mark both the person performing them and those who could correctly interpret them and respond, as members of the middle class (see, for example, Kasson 1990). In creating itself, the middle class also created the Third Space where intersectional white middle class reality was created and normalized in opposition to the working classes and non-whites. Profit in industrial capitalism was created through the sale of manufactured goods targeted to the wealthy and managerial middle class.

Class and Race and the Adirondack Experience

Leisure during this period was limited to the elites and the middle classes, as laborers were unable to afford either the time away from work or the cost of travel, accommodations, etc. Elites, however, tended to travel to Europe or to their own private vacation compounds, like the Adirondack Great Camps (Terrie 1997; Tolles, Jr. 2003; Visit Adirondacks 2017). As described in Chapter 2, these vacations were framed as both recuperative time spent in nature as well as an opportunity to display and negotiate social status, including through mingling on the verandah, the resort version of the urban promenade (Scobey 1992). At the Crosbyside and other hotels in the area, this social status was white and middle class, and included men and women of various ages, both single and vacationing as families with children. The whiteness of the middle class

vacation experience at Lake George is not natural; it is not an accident of history; and is not even real. The illusion of the area as a white middle class vacation destination was created and essentialized in opposition to the Native American and African American histories of the place. It became real literally on the backs of Native Americans and white residents who served as wilderness and boating guides (despite the mythology that all the Indians had gone from the area) and the Black entertainers and staff at the hotels. It is by questioning and queering what is assumed and essentialized that Third Space activates, and how ideologies and illusions – like the creation of an essential white history in opposition to the long and continued presence of Native Americans and African Americans at Lake George – become visible.

The romanticism of the area's Native American heritage, tied to the "taming" of nature by the absence of Indians on the landscape, is reflected in the naming of Wiawaka, which is said to mean "The Spirit of God in Woman." More generally, this romanticism can be seen in the names of steamboats that have plied the lake, floating verandahs that allowed (and continue to allow) tourists to partake of Nature without being vulnerable within it. Native-sounding names were given to multiple iconic Lake George Steamboat Company vessels including the Horicon, which was a reference to the name of the lake in James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, and the Minne Ha Ha, whose name is translated as "laughing waters" and said to have been the name of Hiawatha's wife (Lake George Steamboat Company 2017a, 2017b; see Table 17).

Table 17: Lake George Steamboat Company Vessels with Native American-Influenced Names (Lake George Steamboat Co. 2017a, 2017b, 2017c)

Vessel	Notes	Launch	Out of Service
Minne Ha Ha (I)	144 feet long, displacement 260 tons	1857	1876
Horicon (I)	195 feet long, displacement 643 tons	1877	1911
Ticonderoga (I)	172 feet long, displacement 500 tons	1884	1901
Mohican (I)	93 feet long, displacement 150 tons	1894	1908
Sagamore	203 feet long, displacement 1,125 tons (reconfigured to 223 feet long in 1903)	1902	1932
Horicon (II)	230 feet long, displacement 1,175 tons	1910	1939
Ticonderoga (II)	168 feet long, displacement 360 tons	1944; on Lake George: 1950	1989
Mohican (II)	Converted from steam to diesel in 1946.	1908	Still in service
Minne Ha Ha (II)	Lengthened by 34 feet in 1997	1969	Still in service

The middle class white vacation experience was also created on the backs of African American staff and entertainers (and cadavers, see Bell 1891) who would have been unwelcome guests at their places of employment. While there is no evidence in the census that Francis Crosby hired African Americans as wait staff or domestic help like the managers at the Fort William Henry Hotel did (see Chapter 3), the census was taken early in the summer, before the tourist season was in full swing. That nearby contemporary hotels had Black staff is illustrated in a series of photographs of African Americans working at the Fort William Henry Hotel, located less than a mile from the Crosbyside (Figure 46; see also Figures 10 and 11).

Artifacts from the late nineteenth century Crosbyside Hotel provided insight into the labor of leisure at the site as well as white middle class ideologies of identity and respectability. Perhaps because the Crosbyside could accommodate over 200 guests at a time, relatively large quantities of personal artifacts were recovered. It was not possible to distinguish whether these belonged to visitors to the hotel, or to staff.

Figure 46: Dining room, Fort William Henry Hotel, ca. 1874. Photograph by Seneca Ray Stoddard from the Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views, New York Public Library (G91F121_068ZF).

Public areas associated with guests were better appointed than areas associated with the production of labor behind the scenes. This is exemplified by two hat and coat hooks recovered from Crosbyside burn deposits in Area 4. One of these, plainer and made of bent wire (costing six to nine cents per dozen, depending on size; A2013.61.174.7; Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897:89), would have been used in areas away from the sightlines of guests. The other is cast iron and has acorn-shaped finials and cost 25-cents per dozen

(A2013.61.177.12; Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1897:89). It would have been installed in areas of the hotel associated with guests (Figure 47).

Figure 47: Two coat hooks from the Crosbyside Hotel (A2013.61.174.7 and A2013.61.177.12). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Labor of Leisure: Laundry

The clearest evidence of the labor of leisure was the recovery of at least ten aqua "Bengal Bluing" bottles (Figure 48; Table 18). This product, a brand of laundry bluing, was made by Frank Miller & Sons. Founded in 1889, they remain in business making ice melt (Bloomberg 2017). Laundry bluing, which makes fabrics appear brighter white than just soap, was popular from the late 1800s until the mid-to-late twentieth century, when its

use was superseded by household bleach (though it remains on store shelves). The active ingredient in bluing is a fine iron powder containing the pigment Prussian blue (ferric hexacyanoferrate). Fabrics tend to yellow with age and use. The addition of bluing to the laundry water tints these yellowed fabrics blue, which results in an optical illusion that neutralizes the yellow, making the fabric appear whiter and brighter (Breeze 2013). While the use of liquid bluing ensured a more even distribution of color, launderers needed to make sure that all the soap had been rinsed from the fabrics before adding the bluing, or else a chemical reaction would result in rust stains (Women's Institute of Domestic Arts & Sciences 1925, cited by Breeze 2013). Some of the bottles recovered retained their stoppers. These stoppers, marked "S.S. NEWTON'S PAT. DEC. 26. 76. JULY 10. 77," were patented as improvements to boot blacking (polish) bottles that would allow the liquid to be applied in specific places without running everywhere (US Patent Office 1876, 1877). That the Bengal Bluing bottles had these stoppers suggests that, rather than being used wholesale as a laundry additive, spot treating may have been the order of the day at the Crosbyside. The large quantity of Bengal Bluing bottles recovered suggests that 1) the Crosbyside Hotel did their own laundry on-site rather than sending it out; and 2) the Crosbyside Hotel had a preferred or standard brand of bluing that the laundry staff used to keep sheets, towels, tablecloths, napkins, and other linens appearing as white and clean as possible.

Also recovered was a bottle marked "L. & J.H. Pitman, Apothecaries" which may also be laundry related (A2013.61.27.78). An 1886 advertisement for Pitman's Cleansing Mixture and Grease Eradicator (the only L. & J.H. Pitman product identified during

research) promises that it will remove grease, pitch, paint, stains, and more from all kinds of fabrics. This particular product was marketed to resort hotels and vacation houses in particular (Crawford 1886:facing 197), indicating that as the vacation habit spread, so too did industries which provided products and services that supported the production of leisure.

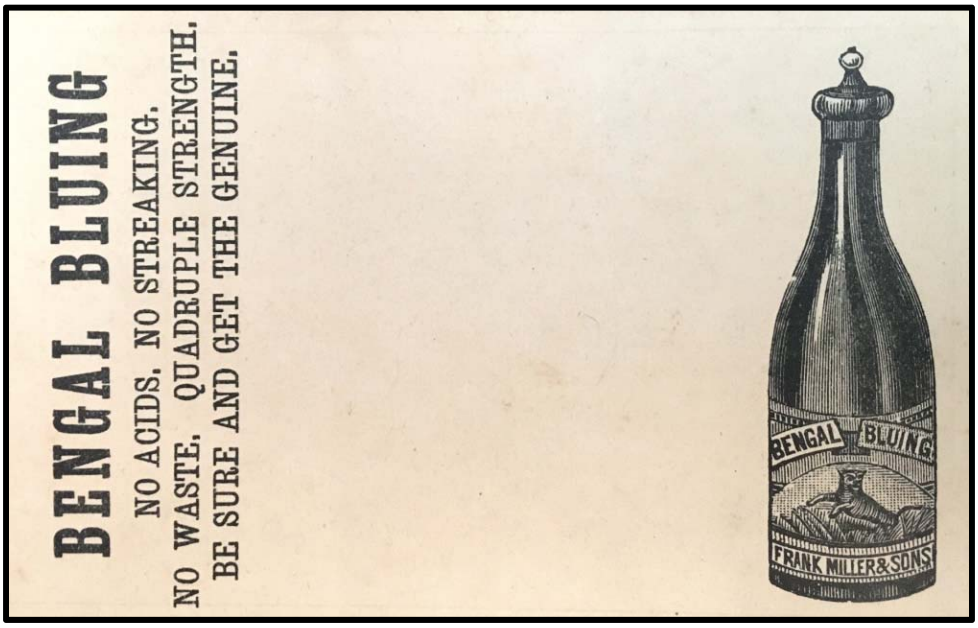

Figure 48: Bengal Bluing trade card. Collection of the author.

Table 18: Minimum Number of Glass Vessels, Excavation Units 1A and 1B (N=108)

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Bottles			
Bottle	Amber, Light	Brandy finish.	1
Bottle	Amber, Medium	Embossed letters in an arc (illegible)	1
Bottle	Amethyst, Light / Clear, Colorless	Patent finish.	2
Bottle	Aqua, Light	Molded panel	1
Bottle	Blue, Light	Base diameter: 2.25”	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Champagne finish.	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Flat panel side, embossed “MANUFACTURED / BY / [monogram BCW & Co.]	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Front panel embossed, “L & J.H. PITMAN / APOTHECARIES / [monogram]”	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Packer finish	1

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Rolled rim, ground finish	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Prescription finish.	1
Bottle	Green, Dark	Champagne finish	1
Bottle	Green, Dark Olive		1
Bottle	Green, Olive	Blob finish.	1
Bottle	Green, Light	Embossed, "THIS BO…"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Amethyst, Light	Vaseline Jar, embossed "…BROUGH MFG CO / …LINE" Rolled rim. Base diameter: 1.75"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Aqua, Medium	Double ring at base; base diameter 2.25"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Blue, Light	Bengal Bluing bottle.	10
Bottle, Cylinder	Blue, Light	"…LORIDA WATER // …MURRAY & LANN… / DRUGGIST … / NEW YO…"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Blue, Light	"THIS BOTTLE / NOT TO / BE SOLD // BIBBEY / & / FERGUSON / 62 & 64 MAPLE ST / GLENS FALLS, N.Y."	3
Bottle, Cylinder	Blue, Medium	Base diameter: 2.25"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Brown	Domed base; base diameter: 3.5"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Brown, Dark	Brandy finish	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Brown, Dark	Embossed in oval, "…SON / …01 & 103 / …PLE STREET / … FALLS N.Y." [Bibbey and Ferguson, 101 and 103 Maple Street, Glens Falls, NY]	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Clear, Colorless	Whole bottle with aluminum screw cap. Embossed around heel: "ONE QUART ONE QUART ONE QUART ONE QUART"; on base: "UNITED / VINTNERS INC [Anchor Hocking Mark] 2-2 / REFILLING / PROHIBITED". Embossed around aluminum cap: "100% Pure Grape WINE 100% Pure Grape WINE"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Green, Dark	Base diameter 2.5"; push up	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Green, Light	Embossed around shoulder, "WORCESTERSHIRE SAUCE"; embossed vertically: LEA & PERRINS.	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Green, Light Olive	Base has raised center, diameter: 3". Embossed around base: "C…/ FRIEDRICH…"	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Green, Medium	Embossed base, "…BIT…" Base diameter: 3.25"	1
Bottle, Octagon	Clear, Colorless	Chamfered edges. Embossed side panels: "…IME & SODA // OF COD LIVER OIL" On front panel: "…SCOTT'S / EMULSION"	1
Bottle, Octagon	Green, Bright	Chamfered edges	1
Bottle, Oval	Aqua, Light		1
Bottle, Oval	Clear, Colorless		1
Bottle, Oval	Green, Medium		1
Bottle, Philadelphia Oval	Clear, Colorless	Base embossed with letter "H" and an acorn. Base length: 2.25"; base width: 1.2"	1
Bottle, Rectangle	Clear, Colorless	Chamfered corners and recessed panels on sides and front. Embossed on front panel: "[illeg] / BURLINGTON / VT." On side panel, "…LINE". Base width 1.4"; base length: 2"	1
Bottle, Rectangular Octagon	Green, Light	Embossed on base, "667/EB & Co."	1
Bottle, Rounded Bottom	Aqua, Medium	Packer finish, diameter: 1". Embossed up the sides: "…EL / …ED / WATERS // …ANTRELL & / COCHRANE / BELFAST & / DUBLIN"	1

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Bottle, Rounded Bottom	Green, Light	Soda bottle.	3
Bottle, Square	Amber, Medium	Chamfered edged and corners	1
Bottle, Square	Clear, Colorless	Chamfered corners. Embossed on base: "W.T. & Co. / J"	1
Bottle, Tapered Cylinder	Green, Bright	Base diameter: 2.75"	1
Closures			
Closure	Aqua, Light	Embossed liner, "MASONS … IMPROVED / PAT MAY 10 70" (letters S, N, P, R all reversed)	1
Closure	Blue, Light	Embossed liner, "…NE 18th 1861 / PATENT…" Exterior rim diameter: 3"	1
Closure	Clear, Colorless	Exterior diameter: 4"	1
Jars			
Jar	Aqua, Light	Ground-off lip.	2
Jar	Clear, Colorless	Molded ring around the circumference	1
Jar	Clear, Colorless	Narrow shoulder, ground finish	1
Jar	Green, Light	Ground lip, and lugs for a twist-off lid. Rim diameter: 2.5"	1
Lighting Glass			
Lamp Chimney	Clear, Colorless	Plain upper rim	1
Lamp Chimney	Clear, Colorless	Crimped upper rim.	2
Lamp Chimney	Clear, Colorless	Flanged base	1
Lighting Globe	Clear, Colorless	Clear glass with a frosted band around the rim	1
Tablewares			
Bowl	Clear, Colorless	Press-molded bowl with flutes and dots. Rim diameter: 7"	1
Drinking Glass	Amethyst, Light / Clear Colorless	Press molded. Starburst design on sides and base; base diameter: 2.5"	2
Drinking Glass	Amethyst, Light	Base diameter: 2.25"	2
Drinking Glass	Clear, Colorless	Base of undecorated tumbler or similar. Diameter: 2.5"	2
Drinking Glass	Clear, Colorless	Press molded. Undecorated. Base diameter: 2.75"	1
Drinking Glass	Clear, Colorless	Flared base.	1
Goblet	Amethyst, Light / Clear Colorless	Footed stemware; probably a water glass	7
Hollowware	Clear, Colorless	Hollowware vessel with scalloped decoration. Rim diameter: 6"	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Press molded vessel, with molded stars and starburst.	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Pierced insert; perhaps for a bulb pot?	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Undecorated, rim diameter: 3.75"	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Undecorated, rim diameter 4.5"	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Frosted vessel, rim diameter 11"	1
Tumbler	Clear, Colorless	9-paneled press-molded tumbler with molded starburst in the base. Base diameter: 1.4"	1
Tumbler	Clear, Colorless	Paneled	1
Unidentified			
Hollowware	Amber, Medium	Undecorated body.	1
Hollowware	Aqua, Light	Base diameter: 4.5"	1
Hollowware	Aqua, Medium	Molded scallops	1
Hollowware	Aqua, Medium	Base diameter 4.25"	1
Hollowware	Aqua, Medium	Stippled base, diameter: 2.5"	1

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Hollowware	Aqua, Dark		2
Hollowware	Clear, Colorless	Bow-front vessel	1
Hollowware	Green, Bright	Two molded bands on the body	1
Hollowware	Green, Light	Base	1
Hollowware, rectangular	Clear, Colorless	Ground rim with collar. May be square.	1
Unidentified	Milk Glass		1
Vials			
Vial, Cylinder	Clear, Colorless		3

Labor of Leisure: Food Service

Included in the labor of leisure are the planning, preparation, and serving of drinks and meals. Ceramics recovered were, like those recovered from the Lacy Hotel Site (McCullen 2001:116, 118) predominantly plain mass-produced hotel wares made of ironstone and vitrified whiteware, designed to survive the heavy use by restaurants and hotels. Similar plain white hotel wares were also recovered from the Hot Wells Hotel site (Fox and Highley 1985:25) and the McGraw boarding house (Lucas 1994; Shackel 2000). By the 1880s, even though white dinner services had become unfashionable in household contexts, plain white earthenwares were actively marketed to hotels and boarding houses (Shackel 2000:136). Practically, undecorated whitewares were among the least expensive for hotel keepers to replace, and removed the concern about matching patterns. Of the 76 vessels recovered from the Crosbyside Hotel deposits, a full 75% (n=57) were undecorated whitewares, many with the thick profiles associated with hotel and restaurant ware (Table 19). Many of these vessels, like those recovered from the Yellowstone Hotel site, were made by Greenwood China of Trenton, New Jersey – a potter that specialized in these types of vessels (McCullen 2001:116, 118). The mark found on both the Yellowstone Hotel vessels and those from the Crosbyside Hotel was in use from 1886 to 1910 (Lehner 1988:180). Another makers' mark on the Crosbyside

undecorated whitewares is that of E. & C. Challinor, an earthenware and ironstone manufacturer in business at Stoke-on-Trent in England from 1862 to 1891 (Birks 2017b). Given this evidence, it appears that the management of the Crosbyside may have shifted from an earlier English provider of tablewares to a domestic one, located just a few hours south by train. This shift may have been associated with cost-saving measures taken by Crosby or the series of new owners who owned the hotel in 1888 and later, as it declined.

Table 19: Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Excavation Units 1A and 1B (N=76)

Vessel Type	Material	Details	Quantity
Tableware, Plain			
Bowl, Soup	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 9.25”	1
Butter Pat	Ironstone	Rim diameter 2.75”	1
Cup	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 3.25”	1
Cup or Shallow bowl	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 3”	1
Dish, Oval	Vitrified Whiteware	Small, shallow baking/serving dishes.	3
Dish, Oval	Ironstone	Small, shallow baking/serving dishes	2
Dish, Round	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 5”	5
Dish, Shallow	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 5”; rim height approx. 1”	2
Flatware	Vitrified Whiteware		1
Flatware	Ironstone		1
Hollowware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 3”	1
Hollowware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 4”	1
Hollowware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 5”	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 3.5”	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 5.25”	1
Pitcher	Vitrified Whiteware	Spout	1
Pitcher	Vitrified Whiteware	Light grey color, rim with spout broken off	1
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 7”	6
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 7.75”	2
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 8”	2
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 9”	1
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 9.25”	2
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 10”	1
Plate	Vitrified Whiteware		2
Plate	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 7”	1
Plate	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 10”	2
Platter	Vitrified Whiteware	Thick walled platter. Rim diameter: 9”	1
Platter, Oval	Vitrified Whiteware		3
Tableware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 5”	1
Tableware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 7”	1
Tableware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 7.5”	1
Tableware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 9”	1

Vessel Type	Material	Details	Quantity
Tableware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 7”. Vessel has a folded-over rim that extend to a pierced insert	1
Tableware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 8”	1
Tableware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 9”	1
Tableware	Porcelain, Hard Paste		2
Tableware, Feather Edge			
Flatware	Creamware	Blue feather edge	1
Tableware, Molded Decoration			
Bowl	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 12”. Sides are scalloped; rim is straight	1
Dish, Footed	Vitrified Whiteware	Foot with molded bands, stem, and ovoid bowl.	2
Hollowware	Ironstone	Scalloped rim	1
Tableware	Whiteware	Molded fan design with bluish pooling in crevasses	1
Tableware, Painted			
Hollowware	White Earthenware	Painted dark and medium blue	1
Tableware, Transfer Print			
Flatware	Whiteware	Black transfer print, scallops and floral pattern	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Black transfer print, scallops and floral pattern	1
Tableware	Whiteware	Black transfer print, floral and foliage	1
Tableware	Whiteware	Red transfer print	1
Decorative			
Vase?	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 4.5”	1
Utility			
Crock	Stoneware, Buff	Molded ring just below the rim, molded foliage design on the exterior. White glaze interior	1
Crock	Stoneware, Buff	Salt glazed exterior; molded designs near rim.	1
Crock	Stoneware, Buff	Dark brown mottled glaze, salt glaze exterior	1
Hollowware	Stoneware, Buff	White slip glaze interior; Rockingham glazed exterior	1
Hollowware	Yellowware		1
Flower Pot	Red Earthenware	Unglazed.	2

An examination of ceramic types by decoration provides a glimpse of the types of food service provided at the Crosbyside. Different sizes of vessels have been standardized for different types of food service since at least the late eighteenth century. In price fixing lists from 1795 to 1846, Staffordshire potters standardized vessels sizes: muffin plates

(small plates for bread or muffins) ranged from four to seven inches in diameter; twifflers measured six to nine inches in diameter; supper plates were nine inches in diameter, and dinner plates measured ten inches in diameter (Maryland Archaeological Conservation [MAC] Lab 2002). By the late nineteenth century, however, acceptable styles of dining had shifted towards multiple courses of only one or two items each being presented to the diner; tureens and other large serving vessels were not present at the table. This type of service was designed to free the hosts from serving their guests by shifting the labor to servants – a clearly class-based style of food service that was impossible for the working classes and others who could not afford to have household staff and/or household staff with sufficient training to be able to serve at table. When served by waiters or servants, this was called dining a la Russe; this is the style most commonly encountered today in restaurant service. When served by the head of household or host, this service was referred to as American style (Lucas 1994:82-83).[10] This shift to multiple, smaller courses resulted in a general shift to smaller plates used at table. By the late nineteenth century, standard plate sizes included eight inch dinner plates; seven inch breakfast plates; six inch tea plates; five inch pie plates, and four inch sauce plates. These were available for domestic use with various decoration, as well as in sturdier ceramics for boarding house and hotel use (Lucas 1994:84).

At the McGraw boarding house, plain whitewares were the most prevalent, consisting of four bakers, two pitchers, two ten-inch diameter plates; one nine-inch plate; two eight-inch plates; four seven-and-one-half inch plates; one seven-inch plate; and two platters.

[10] What we now commonly refer to as family style dining, where food is placed in serving vessels at the table from which diners serve themselves, is traditionally known as Old English style (Lucas 1994:82).

(Shackel 2000:138). The presence of large plates (nine- and ten-inch diameters) and platters at the boarding house suggests an Old English-style of food service; the lack of bowls suggests that soups and stews were generally not on the menu (Lucas 1994:89; Shackel 2000:145). The presence of the smaller plates was interpreted as evidence that other types of semi-formal dining and/or different types of meals (like breakfast or tea) were also served (Lucas 1994:89).

At the Crosbyside Hotel, a ceramics set analysis showed a broad variety of undecorated whitewares were in use (Table 20). The presence of serving platters and large (nine to ten inch diameter) plates suggests that at least some meals at the Crosbyside Hotel were served Old English style. The large number of smaller, course-sized vessels, including the seven seven-inch plates and the seven oval bakers, indicate that service a la Russe may have been more common. Perhaps staff ate Old English style, while guests were served at table – a material and performative expression of capitalism and class distinction (servers were not paid to serve servers), as well as a glimpse of the labor of leisure. In one sense, the dining table can be imagined as a Third Space, where ideologies of capitalism, class, and respectability were created and maintained. A single large (9.25" diameter) soup bowl indicates that, unlike at the McGraw boarding house, soup or stew was at least occasionally served.

At the McGraw boarding house, the presence of decorative sets of ceramics in addition to the more prevalent undecorated whitewares was interpreted as a possible desire for

Table 20: Ceramic Tablewares: Sets Analysis Excavation Units 1A and 1B*

Vessel Type	Rim Diam.	Details	No. Vessels
Tableware, Plain		*Undecorated*	
Butter Pat	2.75”		1
Cup or Shallow bowl	3”		1
Hollowware	3”		1
Cup	3.25”		1
Hollowware	3.5”		1
Hollowware	4”		1
Dish, Round	5”		5
Hollowware	5”		1
Tableware	5”		1
Hollowware	5.25”		1
Plate	7”		7
Tableware	7”	Vessel has a folded-over rim that extend to a pierced insert	1
Tableware	7.5”		1
Plate	7.75”		2
Plate	8”		2
Tableware	8”		1
Plate	9”		2
Platter	9”	Thick walled platter.	1
Tableware	9”		1
Bowl, Soup	9.25”		1
Plate	9.25”		2
Plate	10”		3
Dish, Oval		Small, shallow baking/serving dishes.	7
Pitcher		Light grey color, rim with spout broken off	1
Pitcher		Spout	1
Platter, Oval			3
Tableware, Molded Decoration			
Bowl	12”	Sides are scalloped; rim is straight	1
Dish, Footed		Foot with molded bands, stem, and ovoid bowl.	2
Hollowware		Scalloped rim	1
Tableware		Molded fan design with bluish pooling in crevasses	1
Tableware, Transfer Print		*Black transfer print, stylized geometric scallops and floral*	
Hollowware	5”	Possibly a coffee pot	1
Flatware	7”		1
Plate	9”		1

* This analysis focuses on the decoration of the vessels over the type of ceramic. Only tablewares where multiples of the same pattern are present are included.

greater formality in certain circumstances – such as Sunday dinners or special occasions, or as vessels kept by the boarding house keeper for his own use (Lucas 1994:89). Three vessels (a five-inch diameter hollowware that may be a coffee pot; one seven-inch plate; and one nine-inch plate) were recovered from Crosbyside that bore the diagnostic stylized geometric scallops and floral black transfer print design that connected the Area 1 deposits with the Wiawaka property (see Figure 40). The presence of this set may represent a particular coffee service saved for special occasions, or otherwise limited to use by Crosby or one of the other owners during this period.

Alcohol, Soft Drinks, and Respectability

Several different types of beverage were represented in the Crosbyside Hotel assemblage, including wine, liquor, and carbonated soft drinks like mineral water and ginger ale. At least two embossed foil seals that would have been placed over a wine bottle cork were recovered, indicating that at least some wine was served at the Crosbyside. A small number of champagne and brandy bottle finishes may represent the service of spirits on-site. Several bottles indicative of soft or carbonated, non-alcoholic drinks included: four Bibby & Ferguson bottles from the nearby Glens Falls company (Figure 49), and four rounded-bottom soda water bottles including one imported from Dublin, Ireland. Leonard Bibby began his company in 1874, and in 1881 partnered with Mr. Ferguson. Employing fifteen to twenty people, the company bottled soda water and other "light drinks." There are two addresses represented among the Bibby & Ferguson bottles: 62 & 64 Maple Street and 101 & 103 Maple Street, both in Glens Falls. Located at 62 and 64 Maple Street in the early 1880s, they had moved sometime after Smith published his history of

Warren County in 1885 (Smith 1885:651). An advertisement in the October 2, 1922 Glens Falls *Post-Star* shows that D.J. Fitzgerald, Jr. was the successor to Bibby & Ferguson.

Figure 49: Bibbey & Ferguson bottle from the Crosbyside Hotel (A2013.61.26.2). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Round-bottomed bottles were designed not to stand vertically, so that the corks would be kept moist and the bottles remain sealed. Thick glass walls meant the bottles could withstand the pressures of carbonation, and they were used for carbonated mineral water, soda water, and, quite commonly, ginger ale. Belfast was a common origin for these bottles that were imported to America; nearby Saratoga Springs was also well-known for its mineral water, though no Saratoga water bottles were recovered (see Chapelle 2005). Cantrell & Cochrane, the name on the Belfast round-bottomed bottle (A2013.61.30.2), was established in 1868, and by 1884 was the largest soft drink manufacturer in the world, best known in America for their ginger ale (Figure 50). These bottle types were made into the early twentieth century (Farrell 2016; Kovels 2014; Lindsey 2017).

Absent from the table glass associated with the Crosbyside Hotel assemblage were glass wares specifically associated with serving alcohol (see Table 18). The few stem wares recovered were quite large and heavy with thick walls, and probably represent water goblets rather than wine glasses. While the tumblers recovered may have been used to serve mixed drinks, they may have just as easily been used to serve the soft drinks that were more prevalent in the assemblage. This emphasis on soft drinks versus alcoholic beverages during the last years of the nineteenth century suggests that the Crosbyside catered to those middle class patrons who found respectability in either complete temperance or moderation in the enjoyment of alcoholic beverages. Indeed, the notion of temperance as a socially respectable virtue was incorporated early on by the middle class as a reflection of their core ideologies of self-discipline and upward mobility (Bordin

Figure 50: Detail, Cantrell & Cochrane bottle (A2013.61.30.2). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

1990; McGirr 2015:6). This respectable middle class sobriety was in opposition to the perceived intoxicated decadence of the elites and the disreputable and slovenly drunkenness and carousing that the middle class associated (rightly or wrongly) with the working class – oppositions that became real and essentialized, and which persist.

Alcohol consumption in America has a very long history, stretching back to the colonial era. It served as a substitute for often unclean water before the implementation of sanitation, and was part of every meal, from breakfast to dinner for all ages. While

ubiquitous, it was also abused by some, and alcoholism (described as drunkenness; alcoholics as drunkards) was recognized as a fact of life. In the seventeenth century, preacher Stephen Ford (1674:94) wrote, “will any wise man despise wine, that good creature of God, because men abuse it?” As the middle class formed, alcohol became increasingly interpreted as a social ill, and one of the defining markers of the “worthy” (sober) versus “unworthy” (drinking) poor. Sobriety became a marker of morality and an indicator of social order in an increasingly disorderly society, as people moved away from their family roots and into cities for work and technologies, including those around transportation (canals, railroads, roadways) and communication (the post office and telegraph) brought massive change (Howe 2009; McGirr 2015:6-7). Regarding drinking, Richmond P. Hobson made the following statement in the United States House of Representatives, literally normalizing sobriety by making it natural: “If a family or a nation is sober, nature in its normal course will cause them to rise to a higher civilization. If a family or a nation, on the other hand, is debauched by liquor, it must decline and ultimately perish” (quoted in Okrent 2011:5).

The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in 1874, a crystallization of the movement for temperance as a social good that was made up predominantly of white middle class women and converged around white middle class respectability. They saw themselves as an army for moral good: twenty years into the organization’s history its workers were described as “indefatigable” in their “peaceful war for 'sweeter manners, purer laws’” (Graham and Gardenier 1894:12). The work against the evils of alcohol triumphed with Prohibition, the constitutional ban on the

production, importation, transportation, and sale of alcohol from 1920 to 1933. This was only the second time that the constitution had been amended to limit what individuals (versus the state) could do; the other was the prohibition on slavery. The legal and social ramifications of Prohibition were enormous, though out of the scope of this dissertation (see, for example, Bordin 1990; McGirr 2015; Okrent 2011).

Religion, Identity, and Respectability

Also reflecting respectability at the Crosbyside Hotel was the recovery of a religious medal (Figure 51, Table 21; A2013.61.25.172). The 0.6" diameter copper alloy medal has an image on one side of Jesus with a halo; on the reverse, a sacred heart surrounded by thorns and the words, "Coeur Sacre de Jesus Ayez Pitié De Nous," which translates from French as, "Sacred Heart of Jesus Have Pity on Us." While other religions also have medals, the Sacred Heart is a distinctly Catholic image (McDannell 1995:65). At first glance, the presence of this Catholic religious medal seems out of place. However, just a short way up the road from Wiawaka is Saint Mary's on the Lake, the summer home of the Catholic Paulist Fathers (also known as the Missionary Society of Saint Paul the Apostle). It was purchased by the founder, Servant of God Fr. Isaac Hecker, in the late 1850s or early 1860s (Paulist Fathers 2014). The French inscription on the medal suggests that the owner may have come from (or visited) Montreal (just under 300 miles to the north) or one of the French-speaking communities in New York state that become increasingly prevalent the closer one gets to the Canadian border. Catholic religious items – a crucifix, holy water font, and black glass rosary beads – have also been recovered from other boarding house contexts (Shackel 2000:128).

Religious medals become widely popular in Catholicism in the last half of the sixteenth century (Carroll 1989:23). Almost always circular or oval, and always made of hard, durable materials (usually a hard metal; wood, ivory, or soft metals like lead or pewter are not permitted), these medals served (and continue to serve) many purposes (Carroll 1989:21). Sacramental objects (like rosaries and crucifixes), medals are used by the faithful as devotional items and aids to veneration (Carroll 1989:21); they are the "smaller practices" of a religious life that can be used to carry religion and faith into the secular world of the home, the workplace, and the vacation (King 2014:73). While the objects from the McGraw boarding house were found in association with a residence, the medal at the Crosbyside Hotel is an example of carrying these "smaller practices" into more transient spaces. Medals convey to others that one is a member of a faith community, and therefore also serve a social function (King 2014:73). The Sacred Heart of Jesus in this case affiliates the holder with a Catholic faith community. What we cannot know is whether the owner of this medal displayed it as an outward symbol of community affiliation or held it close as a personal reminder of their own faith, or perhaps of a friendship.

Small and inexpensive, religious medals became convenient tokens of friendship. Into the 1960s, Catholic women exchanged holy cards and medals between other women, nuns, and children as signs of affection and friendship. Like small bottles of holy water from Lourdes, the medal may also signify a visit to a particular shrine or cathedral (McDannell

Figure 51: Sacred Heart of Jesus religious medal (A2013.61.25.172). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Table 21: Personal Artifacts from Excavation Units 1A and 1B*

Type	Material	Details	Quantity
Jewelry			
Bead, Faceted	Glass	Black	2
Bead, 11-sided	Glass	Black	1
Bead, Faceted Diamond	Glass	Black	1
Bead, Faceted Round	Glass	Black	5
Bead, Faceted Round	Jet?	Black	1
Bead, Faceted Drop	Glass	Black	1
Bead, Faceted Barrel	Glass	Black	2
Religious Medal	Copper Alloy	Sacred Heart of Jesus religious medal. Diam: 0.6" Obverse: "Coeur Sacre de Jesus Ayez Pitié De Nous" or "Sacred Heart of Jesus Have Pity on Us" with heart surrounded by thorns; Reverse: Jesus with halo	1
Jewelry – Ring	Iron Alloy	Rim with small oval metal cabochon. Ring diameter: 0.8:	1
Hat Pin?	Glass	Tip of a hat pin	1
Clothing			
Buckle	Copper Alloy	Pierced design. Length: 1.45”	1
Button, Collar	Plastic	Stud-style	1
Button, Prosser	Porcelain	White. Broken	1
Button, Prosser, Pie Crust, 2-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.3”	1

Type	Material	Details	Quantity
Button, Prosser, Pie Crust, 3-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.3”	1
Button, Prosser, Pie Crust, 4-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.35”	5
Button, Prosser, Plain, 3-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.3”	1
Button, Prosser, Plain, 4-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.4”	1
Button, Prosser, Plain, 4-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.45”	1
Button, Prosser, Plain, 4-hole	Porcelain	White. Diameter: 0.5”	1
Button, Shell, Plain, 2-hole	Shell	Diameter: 0.6”	1
Button, Shell, Plain, 4-hole	Shell	Diameter: 0.4”	1
Button, Copper, Stamped, 4-hole	Copper Alloy	Diameter: 0.5”	1
Button, Japanned Copper, 4-hole	Copper Alloy	Molded button with recessed center; painted/Japanned black. Diameter: 0.6”	1
Button, Metal and Synthetic, 2-hole	White Metal and Synthetic	Metal shell over a synthetic core. Diameter 0.6”	1
Button, Copper, Molded, Shank	Copper Alloy	Anchor design. Diameter: 0.5”	1
Button, Copper and Porcelain, Shank	Copper Alloy / Porcelain	Dome button, white porcelain in copper alloy mount. Diameter: 0.9”	1
Button, Iron, Shank	Iron Alloy	Diameter: 0.55”	3
Button	Textile	Cloth-covered button core. Diameter: 0.35”	1
Corset Busk	Iron Alloy / Copper Alloy	Busk width: 0.5 to 0.6”. Quantity is number of pieces. May have copper alloy posts	5
Corset Busk, Straight End	Iron Alloy / Copper Alloy	Busk. Includes copper alloy posts, copper alloy grommet around lacing hole; copper alloy tip at end	12
Corset Busk, Spoon	Iron Alloy / Copper Alloy	Bottom of spoon busk with corset hook	1
Corset Hook	Copper Alloy		6
Eye (Hook and Eye)	Iron Alloy		1
Eye (Hook and Eye)	Copper Alloy		1
Hook (Hook and Eye)	Iron Alloy		1
Hook (Hook and Eye)	Copper Alloy		1
Eyelet / Grommet	Copper Alloy		50
Garter Clip	Copper Alloy		3
Footwear	Synthetic	Synthetic insole [total pieces]	21
Footwear	Leather	Shoe sole, with visible nail holes	2
Footwear	Leather	Heel	1
Rivet	Copper Alloy	Diameter: 0.3”	1
Snap	Zinc Alloy	Clothing snap, post and collar	1
Grooming			
Comb	Plastic, Hard	Tapered-end teeth from a comb. Black.	4
Cosmetics/Toiletries Tube Cap	Plastic, Hard	White with vertical grooves	1
Cosmetics/Toiletries Tube	Aluminum Alloy	Painted red; packaging for toiletries like toothpaste?	1
Mirror	Glass	Silvered. [total pieces]	8
Other			
Clasp	Aluminum Alloy	Fold-over clasp. Diameter: 0.5”	1
Coin	Copper Alloy	Indian Head US cent, heavily corroded	1

Type	Material	Details	Quantity
Doll	Porcelain	Doll head, painted pink	1
Safety Pin	Copper Alloy	Various sizes	4
Sewing Needle	Iron Alloy		1
Smoking Pipe, Bowl	Ball Clay	Undecorated	1
Straight Pin	Copper Alloy	Stamped head	13
Unidentified	Copper Alloy	Cut piece of copper alloy band with engraved, stylized foliage	1

* All strata considered together.

1995:48-50, 65). The significance of the Sacred Heart medal may represent one or all of these aspects, and trans theory allows for all of these meanings to exist simultaneously. Although the medal most directly symbolizes religious devotion, there is no way of knowing how true its owner was to moral Catholic teachings, despite the fact that they carried the medal with them on vacation or to work.

Gender

Personal artifacts recovered from the Crosbyside Hotel assemblage associated with how people dressed (see Table 21) also provide evidence of white middle class respectability, though seeing the intersections with gender was more challenging than anticipated. For example, the several types of faceted black glass beads recovered initially suggested that women were wearing jewelry while on vacation -- a way of dressing appropriately and negotiating a middle class identity. However, the presence of the Catholic religious medal also suggested that these beads came from a rosary which, like the medal, was something that devout men or women might carry with them. A small-diameter iron alloy ring (A2013.61.26.226) was not fancy enough or large enough to have been worn by adult middle class men or women, suggesting the presence of female children on the site (the presence of boys is corroborated by contemporary photographs).

Several corset parts were recovered from the Crosbyside Hotel deposits, including those associated with both spoon and straight busks. Spoon busks, fashionable in the 1880s, widened and became spoon shaped near the base to help contain and constrain flesh otherwise forced out of the bottom of the corset when tightened (Figure 52; Steele 2001:46). Corsets have not always been limited to women's wear; responding to high fashion trends among the wealthy, it was not uncommon for men to wear corsets in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the mid-1800s, this trend had declined, although the 1897 Sears catalog advertises men's corsets both for health and for fashion (Hultman 2007; Steele 2001:49). Except for spoon busks, which were designed

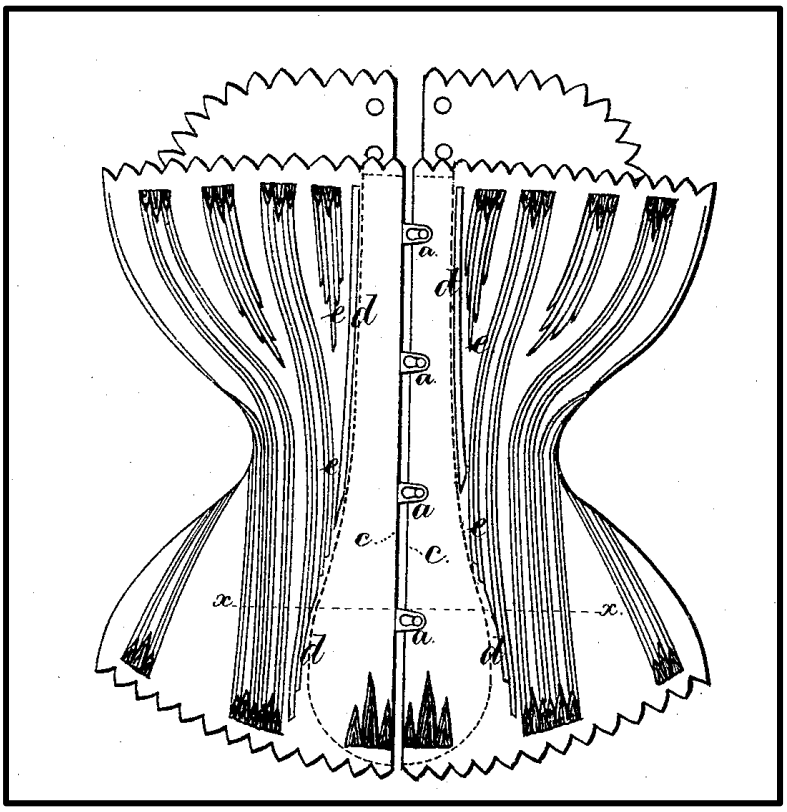

Figure 52: Detail of United States Patent 144921, granted 1873. Note spoon busk in the front.

specifically for women's corsets, there was no difference between corsets made for men and corsets made for women in what survives archaeologically (busks, hooks and posts, and boning).[11]

Also recovered from the Crosbyside deposits were three garter clips associated with women's undergarments. In 1878, a system of suspenders attached to the bottom of corsets that clipped on to stockings to keep them up, began to replace elastic garters. By 1882, this system had been replaced by a separate garter belt that was worn over the corset, with fancy suspenders of satin and gilt clips holding up the stockings (Cunnington and Cunnington 1992:180). The use of garter belts continued well into the twentieth century to hold up silk and nylon stockings (Winters 2015:284). In 1953, developments in nylons which helped them stay up on their own largely replaced both garters and girdles used to hold them up (Caughran 2015:238). A single collar button/collar stud (A2013.61.26.238) was the only definitively male article of clothing recovered.

Corset-wearing in the nineteenth century was not an indication of class or of race. Free and enslaved Black women in the United States wore corsets, as did working white women. There were, in fact, corsets made specifically for working women: the Pretty Housemaid was advertised in the 1880s as the "strongest and cheapest corset ever made." The same shape as corsets for the middle and upper classes, the Pretty Housemaid incorporated a busk protector and a reinforced abdomen to account for the extra pressure

[11] Copper alloy eyelets recovered from Area 1 may have come from the back of corsets, where they were laced (Steele 2001:44) or from either men's or women's footwear (Rexford 2000).

of bending and movement (Steele 2001:48-49). Corsets in the late nineteenth century, contemporary with the Crosbyside Hotel assemblage, were mass-produced and increasingly inexpensive and well-made, making them accessible to a wider market. As a result, according to Steele, the "bourgeoisie frequently complained that it was becoming impossible to distinguish the mistresses from the maids" (Steele 2001:47) – in other words, it was becoming difficult to identify working class and middle class women, based solely on their attire (see also Enstad 1999).

A single example of a Murray and Lanman's Florida Water bottle was represented in the Crosbyside Hotel assemblage (see Table 18; A2013.61.26.46). This toiletry product (neither a cosmetic nor makeup) was "uniquely American" and different from similar European products like Eau de Cologne. By the late nineteenth century, though Murry and Lanman's was the best known of the brand-name products, the term "Florida Water" itself was generic, and there were several different recipes on the market made by several different manufacturers. Regardless of the formula, lavender was always an ingredient. Other components included bergamot, orange, orange peel, neroli, cloves, rose, cinnamon, and/or Melissa (Sullivan 1994:79-80). Although we now associate floral perfume with femininity, the use of Florida Water in the nineteenth century was not gendered. A general tonic, it was used externally to cool fever, relieve headache, as an addition to bathwater, and to sooth and relieve those who were ill (Sullivan 1994:84). These qualities would make it a welcome companion while traveling.

No cosmetics or makeup were recovered from the Crosbyside Hotel deposits. In the nineteenth century, there was a fundamental distinction between cosmetics like creams and lotions that protected, corrected, and improved the skin (assisting nature), and paints and enamels that tinted the skin, acting as masks that hid the truth. The former were considered acceptable for all women. Paint was associated by the pervasive middle class standards of acceptability with women who lived and worked at the edges of or beyond acceptable society, including prostitutes and actresses ("painted women"), and was the target of moral censure (Peiss 1998:3, 10-12; for a discussion of this in an archaeological context, see Dawdy and Weyhing 2008). A good complexion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was considered a reflection of good character, good health, and good spirit (Peiss 1998:15; Richards 1929:3). That these very personal items as well as corset parts were recovered suggests that refuse from the guest rooms did find its way into the Area 1 midden, and that the lack of cosmetics and makeup containers suggests they were not used on site – either by the middle class women or by the staff.

It was through the analysis of the mass-produced corsets and hotel wares of the late nineteenth century that the connection was made between Crosbyside and the capitalist system that the visitors were trying to escape (and the illusion of escape that the workers were charged with creating). The quantity and type of materials recovered from the Wiawaka Holiday House deposits show the shift from the industrial capitalism of the late Crosbyside Hotel era to the consumer capitalism of the late 1910s and 1920s.

Wiawaka Holiday House and Leisure in the Consumer Capitalist Age

Wiawaka Holiday House opened in 1903, just over a decade after the Gilded Age of industrial capitalism had waned (it did not disappear; steel mills and railroads and other aspects of industrialism continued). At the turn of the twentieth century, hungry for expanded markets to increase profit – particularly as laborers were agitating for shorter work days, better pay, and other labor protections, all of which were seen as costs – capitalists turned to the working classes as an expanded market for goods. Advertising companies flourished and created demand for products that had not previously existed. Identities during this period became thoroughly commoditized, with advertisers both profiting from and shaping the market (Ewen 2001; Marchand 2008; Peiss 1998; Roller 2015a, 2015b). The history of cosmetics in America parallels the shift from industrial to consumer capitalism.

Cosmetics and Consumer Capitalism

As mentioned above, during the nineteenth century, distinction was made between cosmetics such as creams and lotions that protected, corrected, and improved the skin and paints and enamels that tinted the skin, acting as masks that hid the truth. During this time of social upheaval, it became important to people that they not be able to hide their class identities. Those who could afford nutritious food, time in the outdoors, enough sleep, and did not labor under long hours in often unhealthy factories (i.e. white middle class women) had healthier visages than working women. A good complexion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was considered a reflection of good character, good health, and good spirit (Peiss 1998:15; Richards 1929:3). Creams and lotions that assisted nature without masking it were considered acceptable for all women (Peiss

1998:3, 10-12; for a discussion of this in an archaeological context, see Dawdy and Weyhing 2008).

One of the hallmarks of consumer capitalism was the creation of new markets for product, including expanding markets, formerly limited to the middle and upper classes, to the working class. A prime example of this kind of shift was the development of beauty culture in the early years of the twentieth century. Beauty culture is a regimented system of cosmetics use that is codified into an appropriate performance of femininity – a performance that varied according to class and race. For example, much of the conversation among white women focused on the morality of visible makeup like rouge, lipstick, and mascara; among African American women, the use of skin whiteners and hair straighteners often met with charges of emulating white culture from other African Americans (Peiss 1998:7, 41-42). The book, *How to Have Beauty and Charm* (Richards 1929) was written specifically for white women and offers makeup, hair, and skin care tips (including regular use of several products) for the blonde, the golden blonde, the pale brunette, the vivid brunette, and those of middle age with white hair and papery skin. People of color and those with red hair were excluded from this middle-class treatise on how to primp and present oneself in respectable, middle class company. The promise of beauty culture and its comprehensive *system* or program of cosmetics use was that women would enjoy a lifetime of beauty; the ideology of beauty culture was a system of meaning and display. No "mere fad or fashion," cosmetics and the beauty culture were part of "a larger change in the way women perceived their identities and displayed [performed] them" in navigating a rapidly changing world (Peiss 1998:5-6).

A single Pond's cream vessel (and other milk glass jars that may have contained Ponds or a competitor; Table 22) was recovered from the 1910s and 1920s Wiawaka Holiday House deposits; it was still half full of product (Figure 53; A2013.61.53.11). The success of Pond's into the present day is tied to consumer capitalism and the invention of a market in the context of beauty culture. The Pond's company began in the mid-nineteenth century making patent medicine, particularly those made with witch hazel. As the patent medicine market shrank following the passage of laws requiring that all claims be verified and that ingredients all be listed, the company looked to expand its products. In 1904, they began selling Pond's Extract Cold Cream (a beeswax-borax emulsion made

Figure 53: Pond's jar with contents (A2013.61.53.11). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Table 22: Minimum Number of Glass Vessels, Area 2, inside the privy* (N=112)

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Bottles			
Bottle	Aqua, Light	Oil Finish	2
Bottle	Aqua, Medium	Cod Liver Oil with Lime and Soda; Owen's scar on base	1
Bottle	Blue, Dark	Phillips Milk of Magnesia Bottle	1
Bottle	Blue, Light	Finish with protruding lip	1
Bottle	Brown, Light	Finish	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Diameter: 1.1"	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	External discontinuous thread finish	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Guilden's Mustard	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Penslar, 2 fl oz bottle	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Solution Citrate Magnesia. Dose: Adults one half to one bottle as desired. Child in proportion to age	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Wide-mouth bottle with cap-seat finish. Rim diameter: 2.5"	1
Bottle	Clear, Colorless	Wide mouth, external continuous thread. Lip diameter: 2"	1
Bottle	Green, Light	Base, embossed "…FLUID OUNCES"	1
Bottle	Green, Light Olive		1
Bottle	Green, Medium	Applied blob finish.	1
Bottle, 8-sided Rectangle	Clear, Colorless		1
Bottle, Cosmetics	Clear, Colorless	Cashmere Bouquet Toilet Water Bottle	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Amber, Dark	Base diameter: 3.75"; Crown finish diameter: 1". Partial embossed marks.	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Blue, Dark	Bromo Seltzer Bottle, Emerson Drug, Baltimore, MD	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Brown, Medium	Evans Ale, Hudson New York bottle	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Clear, Colorless	Citrate of Magnesia bottle. Base diameter: 2.7"	2
Bottle, Cylinder	Clear, Colorless	Club sauce finish. Base diameter: 2.75"; lip diameter: 1.0	1
Bottle, Cylinder	Clear, Colorless	"…STERED // Bellen Bros. / Glens Falls / N.Y.`"	4
Bottle, Cylinder	Clear, Colorless	Base, Owen's scar	2
Bottle, Cylinder	Grey	Base diameter: 2.75"; embossed " B.N.P. CO. / 2 /14"	1
Bottle, Octagon	Clear, Colorless	8-paneled Heinz Co. bottle. Mold number indicates it is a ketchup bottle (Heinz Co. 2006)	1
Bottle, Oval	Aqua, Light		1
Bottle, Oval	Blue, Dark		1
Bottle, Oval	Clear, Colorless		3
Bottle, Ovoid	Clear, Colorless	Bayer Aspirin bottle	1
Bottle, Philadelphia Oval	Clear, Colorless	Reinforced extract finish. Pharmaceutical measurements embossed (3iv)	1
Bottle, Rectangle	Clear, Colorless	Body length: 2.1"; width: 1.3"	1

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Bottle, Rectangle	Clear, Colorless	Chamfered corners. Bead finish. Owen's scar on base. Front has a recessed panel for a paper label.	1
Bottle, Rectangle	Clear, Colorless	Frostilla lotion bottle, Elmira, NY	1
Bottle, Rectangle	Clear, Colorless	Hinds Honey and Almond Cream	4
Bottle, Rounded Base	Green, Light	Soda water bottle. Embossed: "SARATOGA / QUEVIC / REGISTERED"	1
Bottle, Square	Clear, Colorless	Collared ring finish with groove beneath. Height: 2.2" Width: 0.75" Lip diameter: 0.7".	1
Bottle, Teardrop	Clear, Colorless	Odor-O-No bottle. Embossed on base as a monogram, "O Co."	1
Jug	Clear, Colorless	Jug neck with handle	1
Closures			
Liner, Canning Jar	Aqua, Light	Raised catch for bail closure; molded concentric lines around the middle	1
Liner, Canning Jar	Clear, Colorless	Diameter: 3.25"	1
Stopper	Aqua, Light	Top of stopper: 1" diameter, with a zinc alloy foil covering	1
Stopper	Clear, Colorless	Perfume or other small bottle stopper. Round finial divided into quadrants, each with a fleur-de-lys	2
Decorative			
Hollowware	Milk Glass	Vertical flutes or accordion folds. Decorative?	1
Jars			
Jar	Aqua, Medium	Flat finish	1
Jar	Clear, Colorless	Finish, approx. 4" diam.	1
Jar	Clear, Colorless	Ground finish, short horizontal shoulder	1
Jar	Green, Light	Cap-seat finish. Rim diameter: 1.75"	1
Jar, Canning	Aqua, Medium	Embossed, "Ball" in script	1
Jar, Canning	Blue, Light	Bail closure still attached.	1
Jar, Canning	Clear, Colorless		1
Jar, Cosmetics	Milk Glass	Pond's skin cream in a jar, with aluminum alloy screw top lid.	1
Jar, Cosmetics	Milk Glass	Cosmetics jar with iron alloy screw cap (discontinuous lug). Embossed on base: W.T. Co / 1212 / PAT. JUNE 21 1892". Height: 2.1"	1
Jar, Paneled	Clear, Colorless	12-sided. Discontinuous lug finish. Probably a pickle jar	1
Lighting Glass			
Lamp Chimney	Blue, Medium		1
Lamp Chimney	Clear, Colorless	Crimped Rim	1
Lamp Chimney	Clear, Colorless	Plain Rim	2
Miscellaneous			
Ink Well	Clear, Colorless	Square bodied vessel. Width: 1.8"; height to shoulder: 1.5"	1
Tablewares			
Drinking Glass	Clear, Colorless	Base diam 2.4"	1
Drinking Glass	Clear, Colorless	Molded sunburst on base. Base diameter: 2.5"	1

Vessel Type	Color	Details	Quantity
Jelly Glass	Amethyst, Light / Clear, Colorless		11
Salt/Pepper Shaker	Clear, Colorless	Molded and cut square vessel, with notched, cut-in corners and a molded starburst on the base. Matches a nearby surface find.	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Etched scrolls and dots.	1
Tableware	Clear, Colorless	Etched design, wave and foliage	1
Tumbler	Clear, Colorless	Fluted.	9
Tumbler	Clear, Colorless	Six flutes. Star molded into base. Rim diameter 2.3"; height 3.0"	1
Tumbler	Clear, Colorless	Base diameter 2.25"	1
Tumbler	Clear, Colorless	24 Flutes	1
Unidentified			
Hollowware	Amber, Medium		1
Hollowware	Brown, Dark		1
Hollowware	Clear, Colorless		2
Hollowware	Green, Bright		1
Hollowware	Green, Light	Frosted, body	1
Hollowware, Square	Brown, Medium	Square sides.	1
Hollowware, Square	Clear, Colorless		1
Vessel	Amber, Light	Body	1
Vessel	Blue, Medium		1
Vessel	Green, Dark		1
Vessel	Green, Dark Olive		1
Vial			
Vial	Clear, Colorless		1

* This includes strata from inside the brick lined privy, as well as artifacts recovered from 2STP15, which was excavated within the privy. All contexts were considered together, as evidence suggests that deposits accumulated here quickly. A thin band of dark soil at the bottom of the privy which contained earlier, nineteenth century artifacts likely associated with the Crosbyside Hotel, was identified at the base of these deposits. It was excavated with 2A14, and is therefore mixed in with later materials.

with mineral oil) and Pond's Extract Vanishing Cream (a stearate emulsion with glycerine). These were sold in milk glass jars (like those found at Wiawaka) and in tubes that women could carry in their handbags – an acknowledgement that women were becoming less limited to the home/domestic sphere (Bennett 2015; Peiss 1998).

These creams were new to the market, and consumers had to be told what they were, how to use them, and why they were needed. The new advertising industry that developed in

response focused on identifying and even inventing markets for goods, often by exploiting (and even manufacturing) class anxieties and "critical self-consciousness" that could be resolved by buying particular products (Ewen 2001; Marchand 1985). The purpose of advertising, according to a trade publication, was "to keep the masses dissatisfied with their mode of life, discontented with ugly things around them. Satisfied customers are not as profitable as discontented ones" (Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media 2017).

Introducing Pond's cold and vanishing creams to the public was a challenge. According to J.K.L. Wenham, Managing Director of Pond's Extract, interviewed in a 1950 trade magazine article:

> To introduce our creams we used demonstration jars… These were sent to all our clients for counter use. [T]o be hygienic we supplied a small silver spoon, to prevent dirty fingers from being pushed into the cream. But you eat with spoons…. The only complaints we received were not about texture – but about taste. It never occurred to the public to try it on the skin….**The education of the public to use creams was a slow process, with only press advertising as the instructor** (*Manufacturing Perfumer* 1950 quoted in Bennett 2015, emphasis mine)

Pond's creams brought the company significant profits in the early 1900s, but leveled out. They took off again when an advertising executive decided in 1916 to advertise them together – a prime example of the beauty system that underpinned beauty culture. Advertisements educated consumers that "every normal skin requires two creams. A cold or grease cream for cleansing, for massages, and a non-oily, *greaseless* cream before going out – to protect the skin from chapping, to keep it from becoming dry and tough" (Pond's advertisement 1917, quoted in Bennett 2015). Sales of Pond's creams tripled by 1920 (Peiss 1998:121). A milk glass jar embossed on the base, "W. T. Co. / 1212 / PAT.

JUNE 21 1892" (A2013.61.71.48) was made by the Whitall Tatum Company between 1901 and 1924, and marketed as the Bronx Ointment Pot (Lockhart et al. 2006:8). Mimicking the iconic Pond's cold and vanishing cream jars, this Tatum jar likely contained a competitor.

In the 1920s, the national marketing of cosmetics spurred the transition of what had been locally-made and locally available products into national brands. The most common cosmetics containers (n=4) recovered from the Wiawaka Holiday House assemblage were bottles that once contained Hind's Honey and Almond Cream, a local product from Portland, Maine (Figure 54; see Table 22). Marketing made Hinds Honey and Almond Cream a top seller in the 1910s and 1920s (Bennett 2014). Also recovered was at least one Frostilla lotion bottle (A2013.61.66.19) – another local brand, in this case, from Elmira, New York, that, like Pond's, did well in both the national and international marketplaces (Janowski 2015). The maker's mark on this bottle indicated it was made by the Owens Glass Company between 1919 and 1929 (Bottle Research Group 2017).

While advertisements for Frostilla and Hinds Honey and Almond Cream targeted women, promising to make hands smooth (i.e. distinct from the rough hands of working women) and to soothe the effects of wind and sun (i.e. making skin more purely white) they were not exclusively marketed to white women. A 1923 ad for Hinds Honey and Almond Cream targeted the male after shave market, promising that a dab of the product will stop the sting, heal cuts, and sooth and relieve "the close-shave effect." A 1922 ad for Frostilla targeted to women also mentionned the use of the product as an after shave (Kyla Fitz-

Gerald's 2015 thesis engages with the white, female, middle-classness of cold creams by examining their use by male inmates at the World War II Kooskia Japanese Internment Camp in Idaho). Both of these brands, and other skin creams, were acceptable for use by middle-class standards, as they worked to improve the natural beauty of a woman, rather than serving as a "mask."

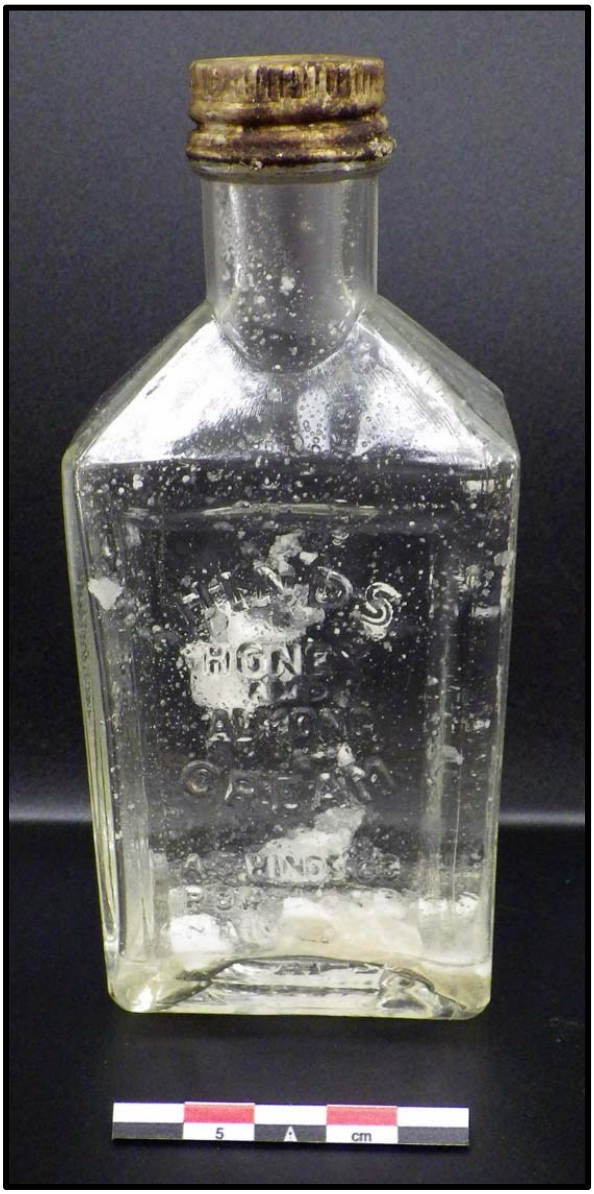

Figure 54: Hinds Honey and Almond Cream bottle (A2013.61.111.23). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Interlude: The Invention of Body Odor. Before advertising agencies created markets for goods, toilet waters and perfumes were used to mask body odors. This included Cashmere Bouquet Toilet Water (represented by a post-1917 to mid-to-late 1920s bottle, A2013.61.66.20; Lindsey 2016a; Lindsey 2016b). Cashmere Bouquet soap was Colgate's first milled and perfumed toilet soap, introduced in 1872. Cashmere Bouquet Toilet Water was one of the Cashmere Bouquet extension products – multiple other products, from perfumes to soaps and skin creams that used the same scent. This was a common marketing technique beginning in the nineteenth century (Lightyear 2016) which dovetailed nicely with the beauty culture of consumer capitalism. Odo-Ro-No, a bottle of which was recovered from Wiawaka Holiday House (A2013.61.66.18), was the antiperspirant that both manufactured the problem of body odor and solved it (Figure 55).

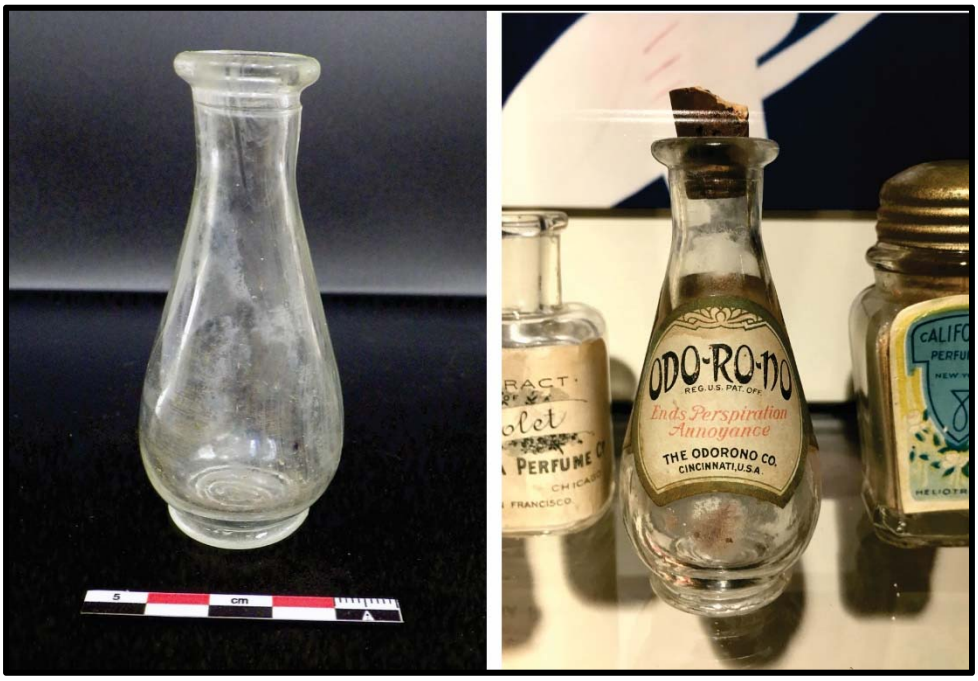

Figure 55: Left: Odo-Ro-No bottle from Wiawaka Holiday House (A2013.61.66.18); Right: Odo-Ro-No bottle on display at Women's Rights National Historical Park. Photographs by Megan E. Springate.

In 1919, Odo-Ro-No was the first company to use the term "b. o." (meaning, but not saying, body odor) in an advertisement. Directing potential customers to take the "armhole odor test," they warned that social success (respectability) hinged on people eliminating their b. o. (Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media 2017). Odo-Ro-No, a mixture of aluminum chloride suspended in acid, was invented by a surgeon to keep his hands from sweating during surgery. Discovering that it stopped both wetness and smell when applied to her armpits, the surgeon's daughter, Edna Murphey, started a company ca. 1910 to sell it, but was unable to find a market. Among the challenges were that the product was irritating to the skin and that the acid and the product's red color damaged clothing. Odo-Ro-No was not the first deodorant that killed odor-producing bacteria; that was Mum, trademarked in 1888. The first antiperspirant, which actually prevented perspiration, was Everdry, launched in 1903. But these products remained under the radar of the buying public; if they had even heard of them, they thought they were unnecessary, unhealthy, or both (Everts 2012). The deodorant and antiperspirant industry was worth $18 billion in 2012, but in 1912, even at the height of a New Jersey summer, Murphey was only able to sell $30,000 worth of product (Everts 2012).

Shortly afterwards, Murphey hired the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency in New York City, who assigned her account to James Young. The first ads he produced for the product presented excessive perspiration as an embarrassing medical condition and Odo-Ro-No as the solution, invented by a doctor. This advertising campaign was successful, and sales jumped to $65,000 in US, Cuban, and English markets. When sales plateaued in

1919, Young did a door-to-door survey of women, and found that all of them knew of the product, but that two thirds felt they had no need for it. His challenge: to convince people that they needed Odo-Ro-No. Young framed body odor as a social faux pas; something that people would not tell you about, but would avoid you and gossip behind your back. The message was clear: to keep a man and one's place in society, women better not smell (Everts 2012; Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media 2017). The ad campaign worked: Odo-Ro-No's sales climbed to almost $420,000 in 1920 and by 1927 had reached $1 million. The campaign also changed the history of advertising: it didn't take long for competitors to exploit the insecurities of middle class women's respectability by mimicking Odo-Ro-No's "whisper copy." Body odor was considered manly and masculine until the late 1930s, when deodorant and antiperspirant manufacturers expanded their sales by creating a market for men's products (Everts 2012).

By the 1920s, cosmetics were widely referred to as "makeup" and were deployed as overt means of expressing identity. For example, a line of lipstick available in 1938 had colors called "Hussy" and "Lady," allowing both middle class and working class women to take on or project/perform particular identities in different contexts (Peiss 1998:3-4). Indeed, from the turn of the twentieth century, makeup and cosmetics became increasingly important aspects in what was understood (and described in the press) as everyday image making and performance (Peiss 1998:49). While the performance of beauty culture – the use of toiletries and cosmetics to appear and smell beautiful – was public and designed to be seen, the application of these toiletries and cosmetics was not part of the public

performance. Bottles and tubes of cosmetics and creams were kept in private spaces of the home (washroom, boudoir) or appropriately applied in gender-segregated restrooms when in public (Pond's and other companies sold small tubes or containers of cosmetics and creams for women to carry in their purses; Bennett 2015). Homes and women's spaces like restrooms and Wiawaka were places where women shared tips and tricks regarding beauty products and their application, a form of intimacy that often led to community, camaraderie, and friendship.

The Missing Cosmetics and Respectability

Perhaps more interesting than the cosmetics recovered are those that were not recovered. There were no rouge pots, eyebrow pencils, lipsticks, or mascara containers recovered at Wiawaka, though they have been found in other nineteenth and early twentieth century contexts (see, for example, Banks 2011; MSU Campus Archaeology Program 2011a, 2011b). By the 1920s, some middle-class white women were beginning to use makeup, including rouge, lipstick, and powder – a shifting of the charmed circle that reflected an increasing respectability of makeup. Despite this, the respectability standards of dress and appearance held forth by the middle class for working women remained conservative and decried the use of makeup. This opprobrium likely served as a means of keeping working women quiet and respectable: Kate Noble, wealthy founder of the Young Women's Friendly League in Waterbury, Connecticut felt that, through exposure to the manners and dress of middle class women, that the working class members of the League would in time become quiet and modest (Murolo 1997:40). White urban working women were admonished in the press for powdering their faces and rouging their cheeks, as well as for

having the audacity to dress in fashionable clothes and hats (and paradoxically judged when they were not able to afford good clothes). These were performances of white working class femininity that marked women, according to middle class judgement, as sexually promiscuous, improper, and of otherwise poor character (Enstad 1999:95).

Working-Class Culture. Wage earning women of the time lived, worked, and moved through a different world than their middle-class contemporaries – a world with very different moral standards. Indeed, the performances of gender and class among working women which met with such derision from the middle class were deeply enmeshed in these women's very survival. Dressing well was part of hoping to move up in the world, particularly through marriage (Enstad 1999:68-69) – an outcome pursued by some of the organizations associated with holiday houses. For many women, appearance also played a role in making ends meet during a time when women were legally paid considerably less than men.

The culture of leisure for young, working urban women in the early twentieth century was heterosocial; men treated their female guests to theater tickets, admission to dance halls, and drinks. For those working women who were eager to take part in an urban social life, "treating" made up the deficit between their income and the costs of going out (Enstad 1999:62; Peiss 1989:108-114). Women commonly joined up with previously unknown male companions for an evening's entertainment, and makeup and fashionable clothes helped draw men's attention. Treating was not a one-way proposition, however; financially unable to reciprocate, women offered various favors in return, from flirtatious

company to sex (Peiss 1989:60-61). Middle-class women found these behaviors immoral and sexually promiscuous; among many working women, they were socially acceptable (Peiss 1989:58, 66-67). Women who traded flirtation and sex for treating were referred to by their peers as "charity girls," and were differentiated from prostitutes both among themselves and by the law because they did not accept cash in exchange for sexual favors (Peiss 1989:64-65; see also Murolo 1997:41). Moral purity organizations, like the Girls' Friendly Society, however, took a harder line than the law, and all unmarried members were required to be of "virtuous" character, which included being both virginal and chaste (Richmond 2007).

Respectability and Respectability Politics at Wiawaka

Given the moral ideology at Wiawaka Holiday House, it is perhaps not surprising that the middle-class women associated with the site would opt for a more conservative beauty regimen that did not include makeup like rouge, lipstick, and eyeliner. The lack of these also suggest that the working women visiting Wiawaka likewise opted to forgo the makeup that they, as a group, were most often associated with (and judged for). Rather than acting as respectable women at Wiawaka and reverting when they returned to the cities, it is likely that the selection and self-selection of young, working women to attend Wiawaka was an effect of respectability politics: those working women who had internalized the ideology of respectability enacted a "quiet" femaleness that aligned with white, middle-class standards were those chosen and/or self-selected to vacation at Wiawaka, while those "toughs" and other inappropriate working women were excluded (Murolo 1997:20-21).

Not all behavior at Wiawaka had to conform to the middle-class standards of the world beyond its borders, however. Contemporary photos, including those of Haze1 Vandenburgh (Figure 56), suggest that women transformed themselves upon their arrival to Wiawaka Holiday House – literally letting their hair down in a heterotopia, away from their regular lives where long hair was meant to be kept up and styled when in public (Ofek 2009:2-3; Weitz 2004:11-12). Long hair kept up and styled in public was part of appropriate social presentation for both working class and middle class women. Wild, unkempt hair implied a wild, unkempt, and sexual woman, just as the popular 1920s flapper "bob" implied an unruly and sexual woman. Away from the male gaze, women at Wiawaka were free to let their hair down. This in itself is a reflection of the effects of heteronormativity and the patriarchy even in a single-gender environment: women were able to have their hair down because, as respectable working class women, it was inconceivable that they would be sensually or sexually attracted to each other. And yet, several women chose to pose for photographs in flirtatious poses with each other (Figure 57). Whether these were posed as a lark, a flirtation with unacceptable social behavior, record actual flirtation, or a mix of all or some of these, the fact that such images exist at all indicates that Wiawaka guests were aware of same-sex attraction.

Absent from the Wiawaka Holiday House assemblage were corset parts, including busks, hooks, and posts. Straight corsets were associated with the more fashionable, less curvy silhouette of the time, reflecting the increasingly popular youthful, athletic figure among young women of the 1920s: "growing straighter and straighter, less bust, less hips, more

waist, and a wonderfully long, slender suppleness about the limbs… How slim, how graceful, how elegant women look!" (*Vogue* from 1908, quoted in Steele 2001:146). More conservative women continued wearing corsets of a more Victorian, hourglass silhouette. Thin, young women in the 1920s might need no more than a brassiere and a

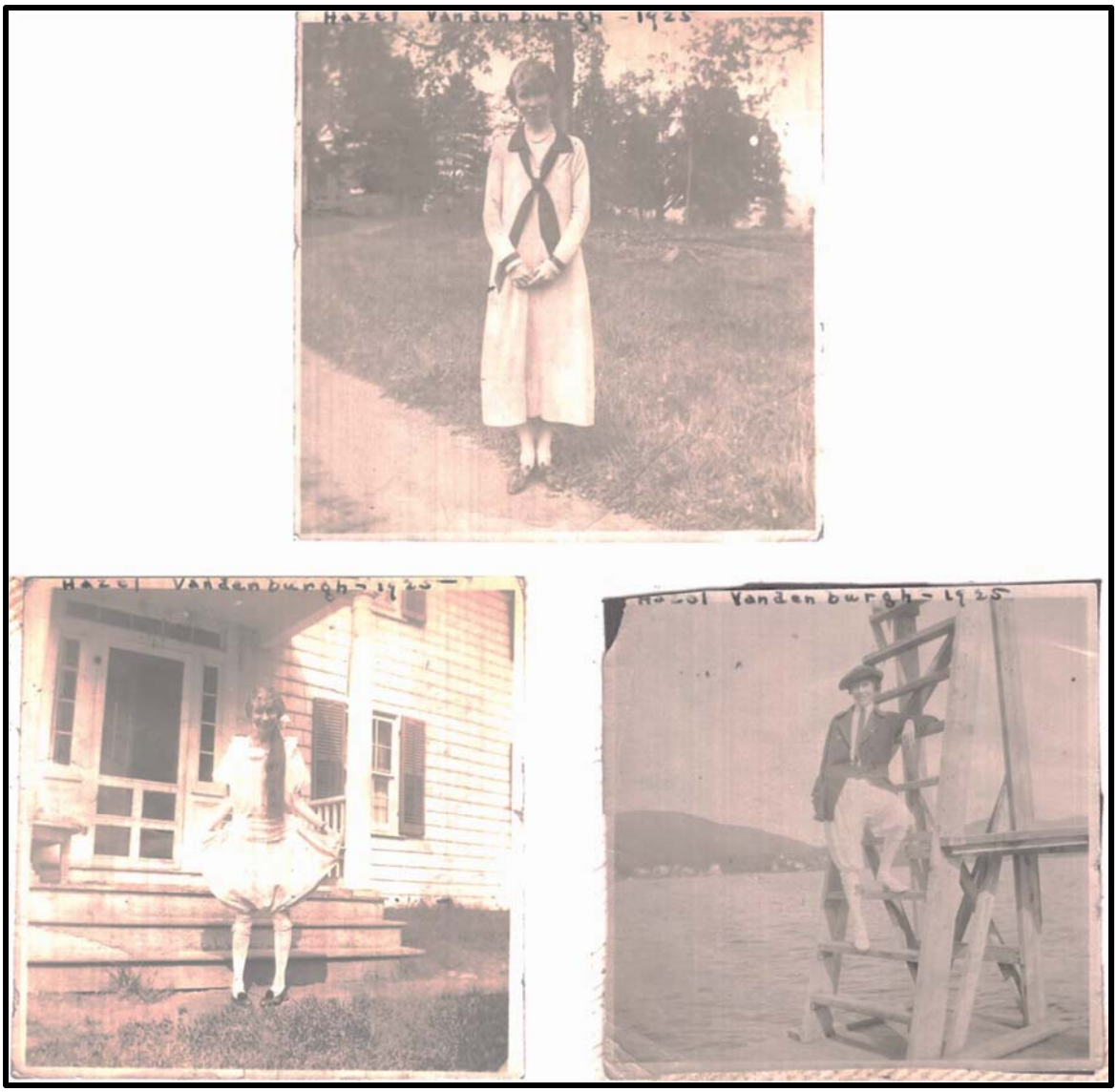

Figure 56: Hazel Vandenburgh, 1925. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

Figure 57: Women posed on the Wiawaka dock, flirting, early twentieth century. Wiawaka Holiday House archives.

boneless, elasticized girdle; those with more "average" figures used "hip confiner" or "thigh diminishing" corsets. Even as steel boning began to decline in popularity around 1920, corsets continued to have a split metal busk in front and lacing in the back (Steele 2001:148, 152-153).

Corsets, Body Image, and Misuse of Medicinal Products. Like cosmetic use in the early twentieth century, corsets were used to present a particular image of femininity. Many women saw the new look as an indicator of modernity, freedom, and independence, and a woman's silhouette and choice of corset (or its absence) took on an overtly political meaning: the new fashions were seen by designers and consumers as affording physical mobility and freedom, "a visual language of liberation" (Steele 2001:152). While some denounced corsets for causing ill health, supporters argued that, like the appropriate use of cosmetics, they were an indicator of (and promotor of) good health and good manners. Women "emancipated" from the corset, they argued, "used vulgar slang, crossed their

legs like men, and smoked in public." For women who wanted to remain womanly, they argued, "moderate corsetry is indispensable" (Steele 2001:145). Without corsets, women were seen to be mannish – a term that categorized them as less womanly, but also, from the late nineteenth century, carried the innuendo of female homosexuality, lesbianism, and in the late 1920s, sexual inversion (see, for example, Chauncey 1983). And yet, no corset parts were recovered from the Wiawaka midden. This lack of corsetry – both the straight and the cinch-waisted variety that was still favored by some older women as a sign of respectability – suggests both a relaxation of social norms at Wiawaka and also a means of asserting power over those women who favored the straight corsets. Without the confines of corsets, women were more able to freely move around and enjoy the activities at Wiawaka, including lawn games and hiking. By not wearing straight corsets, however, many women would lose their "flapper" figure – a style frowned upon by the middle-class.

The medicinal bottles recovered from the Wiawaka Holiday House hint at the lengths women might have gone to have an acceptable figure without resorting to unacceptable means. Scott's Emulsion of cod liver oil (A2013.61.27.71) and three homeopathic vials were the only explicitly medicinal products recovered from the late nineteenth century Crosbyside Hotel midden (Lindsey 2016c; Wendt 2010). In addition to a cod liver oil bottle and a single homeopathic vial, several brand name medicinal bottles were recovered from the Wiawaka Holiday House context: a Philips Milk of Magnesia bottle (A2013.61.64.19); a Solution of Citrate Magnesia bottle (A2013.61.73.34); a Bromo Seltzer bottle (A2013.61.71.18); a Nujol bottle (A2013.61.70.20); two Citrate of

Magnesia bottles; and a small Bayer aspirin bottle (A2013.61.70.1; originally invented and marketed by the German company Bayer, the trademark was confiscated in the United States as enemy property during the First World War and sold to Sterling Drug, Inc. of New York City; Verg, Plumpe, and Schultheis 1988:137). All of these except the cod liver oil and aspirin were products used to relieve gastrointestinal distress. While this may reflect physical reactions to the food served at Wiawaka in the late 1910s and 1920s (discussed below), it may also indicate women's attempts to maintain an acceptable (thin) figure, particularly after "snake oil" patent medicines, including those promising weight control and weight loss, were eliminated from the marketplace. This process began with the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906; the 1912 Sherley Amendment marked the end of these "snake oil" patent medicines. These laws required labeling of ingredients and prohibited the use of the word "cure" and false therapeutic claims (Lindsey 2016c).

Citrate of Magnesia, Citrate Magnesia, Milk of Magnesia, and Nujol are all laxatives; Bromo Seltzer and Milk of Magnesia also serve as antacids. Citrate of Magnesia and Citrate Magnesia, still in use to clear out intestines prior to certain medical procedures, carry the warning to contact your doctor promptly if you notice symptoms of overuse, including decreased weight (WebMD 2017a). The overuse of Milk of Magnesia, likewise, may result in weight loss due to the loss of too much body water (WebMD 2017b). The role of consumer capitalism in promoting the overuse of these cannot, however, be ruled out.

Nujol, a brand name for mineral oil, was made from crude petroleum. In the 1860s, it was bottled by "Old Bill" Rockefeller as a snake oil cure for cancer. Standard Oil, one of the Rockefeller businesses, later took up the manufacture and marketing of Nujol as a way to maximize profits: the cost to manufacture a barrel of Nujol was $2; that same barrel would make 1,000 six-ounce bottles of product. Like the Magnesia products, Nujol was marketed as a cure for constipation: in 1916, an advertisement targeted office workers whose lack of physical activity resulted in constipation (*Oregon Daily Journal*, September 21, 1916); in 1917, advertising promised "Clear Thinking Americans" future vigor, while also targeting senior citizens as a means of "growing old gracefully" (*Good Housekeeping* 1917; *Popular Science Monthly* 1917); in 1923, an advertisement targeted the product to pregnant mothers and offered a free trial bottle. Soon after it was put on the market, physicians discovered that ingesting mineral oil (including Nujol) was harmful, resulting in certain fat soluble vitamins from being absorbed by the body and causing serious nutritional deficiency diseases (a testament to the quantity of Nujol being consumed). In response, Standard Oil added carotene (Vitamin A) to their formula, claiming it solved the problem (Bealle 1949:6). In 1925, harking back to their roots, Standard Oil published a booklet targeted to physicians. Full of detailed color illustrations, the marketing materials spelled out the many uses of Nujol, including the suggestion that it served as a preventative for colon cancer (Standard Oil 1925).

Bromo Seltzer likewise relied on marketing for its success and is one of the few patent medicines to survive the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 (Figure 58). The main ingredient was acetanilide, poisonous even in therapeutic quantities, and Bromo Seltzer

was called out in several early twentieth century articles arguing against medicine fraud. The Emerson Drug Company, located in Baltimore, Maryland (another example of a local product going national), changed the labeling of the product to fit the law, but during the lifetime of the company's founder, the ingredients were never revised (Lockhart et al. 2014; Shackel 2000:133).

Figure 58: Bromo Seltzer bottle (A2013.61.71.18). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Certainly, those at Wiawaka in the late 1910s and early 1920s may well have suffered gastrointestinal distress and used these products as intended. In response to a shortage of fresh milk from local farmers, Wiawaka purchased two milk cows in 1914, which they kept on site until at least 1968. In 1917, a large garden was planted to provide fresh vegetables for meals; it remained a going concern, providing peas, potatoes, beans, and other vegetables for decades. This approach to supply and cost savings was not new; both

the Lake George Young Ladies' Institute and the Crosbyside Hotel raised livestock and garden crops on the property. In 1965, the board of directors considered stopping the garden and buying a freezer to take advantage of the convenience and quality of frozen foods (Wiawaka Holiday House Archives). In the last six or seven years, a vegetable garden has returned to Wiawaka Holiday House. Dug, planted, and tended by volunteer gardener Gail Oakes, the garden provides some fresh vegetables to the Wiawaka kitchen. Although there were some fresh milk and vegetables produced on site, archaeological evidence from the 1910s to 1920s deposits indicates that much of the food served at Wiawaka came in tin cans (Figure 59). Cans that once held fruits, vegetables, canned meats and fish, and evaporated milk (based on morphology) were prevalent in the assemblage (see Busch 1981; Memmott 2015; Rock 1984 for discussion of can morphology and types). A diet heavy in processed, canned foods may have resulted in poor digestion among the staff and visitors at Wiawaka that in turn necessitated the use of digestive aids.

The Wiawaka Holiday House Split from Girls' Friendly Society. Like the tablewares recovered from the Crosbyside Hotel assemblage, those from Wiawaka also provide information about class and respectability. Where the Crosbyside served meals largely on plain white hotel wares, guests and staff at Wiawaka ate from a combination of plain whitewares (n=23 or 30.7% of the total) and specially-ordered dishes embellished with the Girls' Friendly Society monogram (GFS) in the early years (n=11, 14.7%), and later on with "Wiawaka" (n=9, 12%; Figure 60; Table 23). These specially-commissioned custom dishes were in the tradition of the finest hotels and railroads which also had

custom tablewares, and reflected the white middle class ideology of respectability projected and enforced by the staff and visitors (Springate 2012).

Sometime after the founding of Wiawaka in 1903, Mary Wiltse Fuller and the board distanced themselves from the Girls' Friendly Society to make the site open to all women (Sayers 1998). This shift is reflected in the ceramics on the site in the shift from the GFS monogram to the Wiawaka marking. The presence of both Wiawaka and GFS-marked dishes throughout the deposit suggests the split did not reflect a dramatic or radical divergence from GFS ideology, which would likely have resulted in the wholesale

Figure 59: Can keys from Wiawaka (A2013.61.53.140). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 60: Soup bowl with the Girls' Friendly Society monogram (A2013.61.66.35). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Table 23: Minimum Number of Ceramic Vessels, Area 2, inside the privy (N=75)*

Vessel Type	Material	Details	Quant.
Tableware, Plain			
Basin	White Earthenware	Everted rim.	1
Cup	Ironstone		4
Cup	Whiteware		1
Flatware	Whiteware	Rim diameter: 10.25”	1
Hollowware	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim diameter: 4.5”	1
Hollowware	Earthenware, Pink	Unidentified vessel	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim for a lidded vessel; rim diameter: 5.5”	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 6”	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 7.25”	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 7.5”	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim diameter: 9.5”	1
Hollowware	Porcelain, Hard Paste	Rim for a lidded vessel; rounded corners, straight sides	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Rim diameter: 5.25”	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Rim diameter: 6.25”	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Rim diameter: 7”	1
Pitcher	Ironstone	Large pitcher, as for a toilet set	1
Lid	Ironstone	As for a serving vessel	1
Saucer	Whiteware	Rim diameter 6”	1
Shallow Dish	Whiteware	Rim diameter: 6.5”	2
Tableware, Molded Decoration			

Vessel Type	Material	Details	Quant.
Cup	Ironstone	Molded handle	2
Hollowware	Ironstone	Rim with molded arches on the exterior	1
Pitcher	Vitrified Whiteware	Rim and handle. Handle has a rope decoration molded around the top.	1
Tableware, Transfer Print – Wiawaka			
Bowl	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka" Rim diameter: 7"	1
Bowl, Soup Mug	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka"	2
Dish, Shallow	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka"	3
Flatware	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka"	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka"	2
Plate	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka" Rim diameter: 8"	1
Tableware	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "Wiawaka"	1
Tableware, Transfer Print – GFS			
Bowl	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "GFS" Rim diameter: 7"	1
Bowl, Soup Mug	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "GFS" Rim diameter: 4.5"	1
Dish, Shallow	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "GFS" Rim diameter: 5.5"	1
Dish, Shallow	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "GFS" Rim diameter: 6.5"	3
Hollowware	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "GFS"	1
Tableware	Whiteware	Blue transfer print, "GFS"	2
Tableware, Transfer Print – Blue Willow			
Cup	Whiteware	Transfer print, Blue Willow. Design on interior and exterior of rim. Rim diameter: 3"	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Transfer print, Blue Willow around the rim	1
Plate	Whiteware	Transfer print, Blue Willow. Rim diameter: 9"	1
Plate	Whiteware	Transfer print, Blue Willow. Rim diameter: 10"	1
Serving Dish, Oval	Whiteware	Transfer print, Blue Willow. Rim diameter: 10"	1
Tableware, Transfer Print – Stylized Foliage and Flowers			
Flatware	Whiteware	Black transfer print, stylized foliage and flowers. Rim diameter: 9"	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	Black transfer print, stylized foliage and flowers	1
Plate	Whiteware	Black transfer print, stylized foliage and flowers. Rim diameter: 10"	1
Tableware, Transfer Print – Other			
Tableware	White Earthenware	Transfer print, dark green/black. Foliage.	1
Tableware, Hand Painted			
Flatware	Ironstone	Hand painted red line around rim; red stems and green foliage. Rim diameter: 6"	1
Hollowware	White Earthenware	Hand painted body, bright green	1
Plate	Ironstone	Cream colored ground with hand painted design: dark green leaves with a burgundy border and burgundy stem and flowers. Rim diameter: 9"	1

Vessel Type	Material	Details	Quant.
Plate	Ironstone	Cream colored ground with hand painted design: blue flower with green leaves and a burgundy stem. Burgundy line around the border. Rim diameter: 6.5”	1
Platter	Ironstone	Cream colored ground with hand painted design: red line around the rim; foliage in red and green with a red stem	1
Tableware, Other			
Hollowware	Vitrified Whiteware	Yellow luster body with a thin black line above, then white area that is pierced/basket weave.	1
Saucer	Enamelware	Small white enamelware saucer, rim diameter: 5”	1
Saucer	Porcelain, Hard Paste	Decalcomania with pink roses and violets, green leaves. Scalloped edge. Rim diameter: 6.0”	1
Decorative			
Planter?	Ironstone	Hand painted vessel, rim diameter: 8”. Black line around the rim, a blue dot, and green foliage. Quality of painting suggests it is not tableware	1
Utility			
Chamber Pot	Whiteware	Rim diameter: 10”	1
Crock	Stoneware, Buff	Small crock or wide-mouth bottle with molded bands around the top. Diameter: 3”; height: 8.5”	1
Crock	Stoneware, Buff	Very dark brown/black interior slip glaze. Exterior has dark brown slip glaze at the top and white slip glaze around the bottom; where they meet, a light brown line encircles the vessel. Rim diameter: 8”	1
Crock	Stoneware, Gray	Medium brown lead glaze interior; white slip glaze exterior. Rim diameter: 7.5”	1
Flower Pot	Earthenware, Red	Flower pot.	1
Hollowware	Whiteware	White hollowware with blue annular banding	1
Mixing Bowl	Yellowware	White band under the rim. Rim diameter: 9.25”	1
Soap Dish	Ironstone	Light grey dish with curved corners and drain holes	1
Soap Dish? Butter Keeper?	Ironstone	Insert, pierced with holes	1
Unidentified			
Hollowware	White Earthenware	Dark blue body	1

* This includes strata from inside the brick lined privy, as well as artifacts recovered from 2STP15, which was excavated within the privy. A thin band of dark soil at the bottom of the privy which contained earlier, nineteenth century artifacts likely associated with the Crosbyside Hotel, was identified at the base of these deposits. It was excavated with 2A14, and is therefore mixed in with later materials.

discard and replacement of the GFS vessels. Instead, it appears as though the use of GFS and Wiawaka dishes overlapped, with GFS dishes replaced by Wiawaka vessels as they

broke. The GFS vessels were made by Cauldon Limited in England, a Stoke-on-Trent pottery in business from 1904 to 1920 (Birks 2017c). None of the Wiawaka-marked vessels had Cauldon makers' marks, suggesting that the shift from GFS to Wiawaka took place ca. 1920. The importance of maintaining a white middle class ideology at Wiawaka is exemplified by later changes in tablewares. In 1957, the housemother complained to the board that too many of the earthenware dishes were being broken each season. Annual reports indicated that multiple dozens of plates, cups, and bowls needed to be replaced each year, presumably at some expense and inconvenience (Wiawaka Holiday House archives). As a result, off-the-shelf generic hotel wares were purchased (Figure 61). A very few short years later, in 1961, they began to be replaced with custom-made hotel wares with the same "Wiawaka" custom transfer print from the early twentieth century (Figure 62; Springate 2012). A mix of these generic hotel wares and the 1960s Wiawaka vessels are still in use on-site.

Figure 61: Generic hotel ware, Saratoga pattern by Buffalo China. Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Figure 62: Wiawaka hotel ware by Syracuse China. Photo by Megan E. Springate.

Not a la Russe; Not Old English Style: Ceramics and Food Service at Wiawaka. An examination of the sets of dishes recovered from the Wiawaka Holiday House deposits provided information on food service (Table 24). Undecorated tablewares included several small hollowwares, including saucers and cups. Photos from the 1920s show Wiawaka visitors drinking tea or other hot beverages outdoors; perhaps because this increased the likelihood for breakage, cheaper cups and saucers were purchased (the only

other possible cup represented is one with the blue willow design). Other plain whitewares include lidded serving vessels, a small lidded hollowware – perhaps a sugar bowl, and a 10.25" plate or platter. The GFS-marked vessels include a soup mug, four shallow dishes (one five and one-half inch and three six and one-half inch diameters), and a seven inch diameter bowl. The bowls suggest that soups and stews were served during the GFS years – a cost effective way to feed large groups of people. The Wiawaka-marked vessels also include two soup mugs and a seven-inch diameter bowl, as well as an eight-inch plate. The similarities between the two assemblages suggests both that similar meals were produced, but also that similar ideologies around respectability, class, and gender at meals were at play in both the GFS and Wiawaka years in the early twentieth century.

While the plates and soup mugs are consistent with service a la Russe, where several smaller courses are served, the presence of serving vessels and of Sterno cans in the assemblage indicated a different approach to meals at Wiawaka. Sterno was used to keep serving vessels of food warm along, for example, a buffet line. It is possible that, in the 1910s and 1920s, as today, meals are set out on platters and in serving vessels from which visitors help themselves. Smaller plates (about seven or eight inches in diameter) limited how much food one could take at a time, serving both as an enforcement of respectable restraint (avoiding gluttony) and as a cost-saving measure. Soup mugs suggested an informality around some meals, such as lunch.

Table 24: Ceramic Tablewares: Sets Analysis, Excavation Area 2A*

Vessel Type	Rim Diam.	Details	No. Vessels
Tableware, Plain		*Undecorated*	
Hollowware	4.5”		1
Hollowware	5.25”		1
Hollowware	5.5”	Rim for a lidded vessel	1
Hollowware	6”		1
Saucer	6”		1
Hollowware	6.25”		1
Shallow Dish	6.5”		2
Hollowware	7”		1
Hollowware	7.25”		1
Hollowware	7.5”		1
Hollowware	9.5”		1
Flatware	10.25”		1
Basin		Everted rim; as for a toilet set	1
Cup			5
Hollowware		Rim for a lidded vessel; rounded corners, straight sides	1
Lid		As for a serving vessel	1
Pitcher		Large pitcher, as for a toilet set	1
Tableware, Molded Decoration			
Cup		Molded handle	2
Hollowware		Rim with molded arches on the exterior	1
Pitcher		Rim and handle. Handle has a rope decoration molded around the top.	1
Tableware, Transfer Print – Wiawaka			
Bowl		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka” Rim diameter: 7”	1
Plate		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka” Rim diameter: 8”	1
Bowl, Soup Mug		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka”	2
Dish, Shallow		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka”	3
Flatware		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka”	1
Hollowware		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka”	2
Tableware		Blue transfer print, “Wiawaka”	1
Tableware, Transfer Print – GFS			
Bowl, Soup Mug	4.5”	Blue transfer print, “GFS”	1
Dish, Shallow	5.5”	Blue transfer print, “GFS”	1
Dish, Shallow	6.5”	Blue transfer print, “GFS”	3
Bowl	7”	Blue transfer print, “GFS”	1
Hollowware		Blue transfer print, “GFS”	1
Tableware		Blue transfer print, “GFS”	2
Tableware, Transfer Print – Blue Willow			
Cup	3”	Transfer print, Blue Willow. Design on interior and exterior of rim.	1
Plate	9”	Transfer print, Blue Willow.	1
Plate	10”	Transfer print, Blue Willow.	1
Serving Dish, Oval	10”	Transfer print, Blue Willow.	1
Hollowware		Transfer print, Blue Willow around the rim	1
Tableware, Transfer Print		*Black transfer print, stylized geometric scallops and floral*	

Vessel Type	Rim Diam.	Details	No. Vessels
Flatware	9”		2
Plate	10”		1
Hollowware			1
Tableware, Hand Painted			
Plate	6.5”	Cream colored ground with hand painted design: blue flower with green leaves and a burgundy stem. Burgundy line around the border.	1
Plate	9”	Cream colored ground with hand painted design: dark green leaves with a burgundy border and burgundy stem and flowers.	1
Platter		Cream colored ground with hand painted design: red line around the rim; foliage in red and green with a red stem	1

***** This includes strata found inside the brick lined privy, as well as artifacts recovered from 2STP15, which was excavated within the privy. A thin band of dark soil at the bottom of the privy which contained earlier, nineteenth century artifacts likely associated with the Crosbyside Hotel, was identified at the base of these deposits. It was excavated with 2A14, and is therefore mixed in with later materials.

Several other sets of dishes were present in the Wiawaka assemblage. These included five Blue Willow vessels (one cup, one nine inch diameter plate, one ten inch plate, one ten inch oval serving dish, and a hollowware); three of the black transfer print stylized floral pattern (see Figure 40; one ten inch diameter plate and one nine inch flatware); and three hand painted vessels with a burgundy border and flowers (one six and one-half inch diameter plate, one nine inch plate, one platter). All of these suggest Old English service, where serving vessels are placed in the center of the table, and those at the table serve themselves. Rather than arguing that Old English service was practiced at Wiawaka in addition to buffet-style service, I suggest that these vessels were brought to Wiawaka as donations (from the day the doors opened, Wiawaka has solicited donations of money, items, and services to keep it running). These larger vessels likely saw buffet service before ending up in the trash.

Resistance or Expression of Working Class Solidarity? Alcohol and Possible Drug Use at Wiawaka

The ideology of respectable, white middle class behavior included, as described in the section about the Crosbyside Hotel, a strong tendency to temperance, and alcohol was not permitted on the Wiawaka grounds (while not forbidden today, board members and staff request that alcohol be consumed in private, and not to excess). Despite this, a total of five alcohol bottles were recovered from the Wiawaka assemblage. Four of these bottles contained Bellen Brothers products, while the fifth was an Evans Ale bottle (Figure 63; A2013.61.73.13). Bellen Brothers were providers of liquor, shipping and receiving various kinds of alcohol via the Delaware & Hudson Railroad in 1905 (Delaware & Hudson Co. 1905:59). In 1909, they were agents of Beverwyck Lager, providing it to many local hotels including the Carpenter House in the village of Lake George (Glens Falls *Post Star* August 26, 1909), a relatively short walk or boat ride from Wiawaka. Bellen Brothers remained in business at least through 1919, according to New York State business documents. Evans Ale was sold up and down the Hudson River, and the company thrived from 1878 until prohibition (Gravina and McLeod 2014). It may have found its way to Lake George via the same Delaware & Hudson Railroad as Bellen Brothers' products. The start of Prohibition in 1920 limits the deposit of these bottles in the midden to the late 1910s.

Legally-acquired alcohol may not have been the only intoxicants used at Wiawaka. Also recovered was a Carbona bottle, the above-mentioned Bromo Seltzer bottle, and several Sterno cans. While all of these have innocuous uses (cleaning stains, curing indigestion

Figure 63: Evans Ale bottle from Wiawaka Holiday House (A2013.61.73.13). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

and headaches, and heating foods, respectively), they also have histories of being used illicitly. Carbona is a liquid used for laundry stain removal. Made from carbon tetrachloride (and later trichloroethylene), it was touted as the safe alternative to other household solvents (like naptha and gasoline) because it would not explode (Axis Chemicals 2012; Delta Carbona 2017). A Carbona bottle (A2013.61.65.14) recovered from the Wiawaka Holiday House deposits dates from 1908 when the product was first marketed in New York City until the 1920s (Figure 64; Delta Carbona 2017; Lindsey 2016d). Marketing copy frames the use of Carbona as a means of maintaining respectability: "The carefully dressed woman needs Carbona every day in every week. If the white piping on a dark suit shows soil, daintiness and freshness are impossible" (Axis Chemicals 2012). Although Carbona would not explode, it was still volatile (and toxic), and has a history of being used as an inhaled intoxicant (Axis Chemicals 2012). Bromo Seltzer contained acetanilide, which like Aspirin, relieved headache. Unlike Aspirin,

however, it had habit-forming properties, though reportedly not as strongly as cocaine or opium. The likely use of Bromo Seltzer as an intoxicant has been documented at the McGraw boarding house (Shackel 2000:133).

Figure 64: Carbona bottle (A2013.61.65.14). Photograph by Megan E. Springate.

Sterno is a canned cooking fuel -- a flammable gel sold in a can -- invented in 1893. It continues to be used as a portable source of heat on buffet tables; in the past, it was also used to heat pressing and curling irons for hair in places where electricity was not available (Lammle 2011; Wikipedia 2017b). Its main ingredient is ethanol, a flammable alcohol.

An advertisement for Sterno from 1915 shows a logo that matched one found embossed on one of the recovered Sterno-type cans from the Wiawaka assemblage (Figure 65). Invoking respectability and targeting women as consumers, Sterno was marketed as "just as safe" as cold cream. Despite the fact that Sterno also contains methanol, which makes it toxic (with ingestion resulting in health problems ranging from stomach cramps to blindness and death), it has a history of being used as an illicit source of alcohol. Wrapped in cheesecloth or other fabric, the gel was wrung and the liquid, called "squeeze" collected and ingested (Lammle 2011). Certainly, it cannot be assumed that women at Wiawaka were using these products illicitly; however, the possibility must be acknowledged – particularly given the presence of alcohol bottles.

The use of alcohol and other substances by holiday house women was known. In 1912, an article in the Girls' Friendly Society in America *Associates' Record* described a "constantly increasing need for careful warning regarding the dangers of alcoholic stimulants and also of the various 'pick me ups' sold at the soda water fountains." The solution proposed included bringing the working women "to a realization of their own weaknesses at the same time that we try to teach them that there is no temptation which they may not withstand if they will only face it with prayer, self-control…" (*Associates Record* 1912:19).

The presence of alcohol bottles and the potential for drug use in places where drinking and intoxicants were prohibited may be interpreted as a form of resistance to power that has been identified archaeologically both at institutional reform sites (Baugher 2010) and

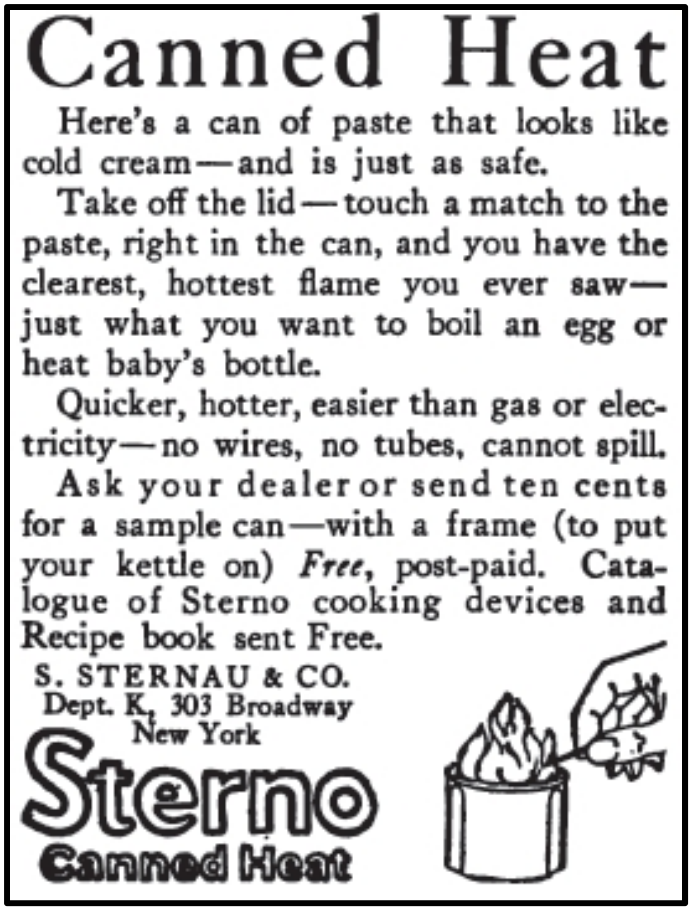

Figure 65: 1921 advertisement for Sterno, "Canned Heat."

morally stringent domestic sites (Kruczek-Aaron 2008). At Sailors' Snug Harbor, a retirement community for sailors which had overtones of moral reform, Sherene Baugher discovered clandestine evidence of drinking and smoking behind one of the buildings, out of view of the staff who enforced the rules (Baugher 2010). The familial resistance described by Kruczek-Aaron (2008) is relevant to Wiawaka, which was organized very much along domestic lines. Gerrit Smith was a mid-nineteenth century reformer who sought to live out his ideals of simplicity and abstinence of drink and tobacco, and who expected his family and employees to do the same. Resistance to this ideology included drinking and smoking by his children and/or employees where they could not be seen, the

use of alcohol in cooking by his daughter, and the insistence of both his wife and daughter for fineries – particularly regarding table settings -- that would properly represent their social status and serve as moral education for their children (Kruczek-Aaron 2008). What is unknown is who at Wiawaka was drinking. Was it the working women who visited, or perhaps members of the staff, sneaking drinks in their rooms or elsewhere on the property? Or was it the organizers and Associates who might have felt entitled to imbibe despite the rules? Regardless, the consumption of alcohol in the late 1910s was a blatant violation of the rules and ideology of the site. There is no mention in the Wiawaka archives of guests being caught drinking; those ejected from the site and/or not asked back were ostracized for "rough" behavior including picking fights and harassment (Wiawaka Holiday House archives), but not for drinking.

This behavior (drinking and possible drug use) may not be resistance just to Wiawaka's rules, but to middle class respectability in general. It may also serve as a way of bonding among working women at Wiawaka; a secret marker of belonging to a different group. Karskens and Lawrence (2003; cited in Casella 2005) suggest that what is perceived as respectable behavior among working class people by those in the middle class may be being misread; that different classes have different "dialects" of respectability. In this context, women who appeared to follow the middle class rules of respectability at Wiawaka from the perspective of the middle class may, from their own perspective, have had different feelings about the situation. Perhaps they were "going along to get along," trading the appearance of respectability for time at Wiawaka. That middle class ideals of

female respectability were not been internalized by all of the guests is suggested by the photos of women flirting as well as by the presence of alcohol and possible drug use.

It was the "wild, unruly, and immoral" behaviors popularly associated with working women that the founders of Wiawaka Holiday House hoped to quiet through good example. In the terms of Bhabha and Butler, they hoped that the working women would mimic and internalize these gender- and middle-class-appropriate manners and dress, becoming more like them. But not actually becoming them; the performance was never intended to transform the working women into middle class women. Indeed, the creation of a different type of femininity based on middle class values and performed only at Wiawaka virtually ensured it. Whether or not the working women internalized these middle-class based performances, continuing them once they left Wiawaka's heterotopia and returned to their regular lives, is unknown (though reformers of the time recognized that working women often behaved or performed differently in different contexts; see, for example, Murolo 1997:40).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The industrialization of America, the development of the middle class, anxiety about identity and social belonging, and industrial capitalism are deeply intertwined. As America industrialized, people moved from their rural communities, where people were known and support systems ran deep, to the cities to find work in the large factories that were replacing local manufacture. The new type of worker, managers (almost entirely white), who acted as proxies for owners in businesses that could no longer be overseen directly, was neither fish nor fowl. As neither the physical labor that produced profit, nor the capitalists who accrued it, a new identity – a new way of social belonging -- was needed. The identity of middle class coalesced around this new group, and legions of books were published about how to *be* middle class: how and what to eat, how to interact with people and which ones, what to wear and what not. Members of this new middle class worked to distance themselves both from the untrustworthy capitalist business owners and from the rough lives of the working classes. From this came the ideal of middle class respectability, deeply shaped around whiteness and white privilege and an ideology of "proper" gender roles – of which there were only two. The sheer number of people that made up this new middle class as well as their power over the lives of workers and their economic power in the marketplace resulted in the normalization of white, gendered, middle class respectability. Middle class values became synonymous with American values, the ideological "gold standard" against which people were (and continue to be) judged.

I approached the excavations at Wiawaka (a heterotopia) looking for ways that race, class, and gender were formed (Bhabha's Third Space) and performed (Butler). These identities are deeply intertwined, and are not mutually exclusive, and I looked to explore how they informed and affected each other in identity formation. In the nineteenth century, white middle class respectability became essentialized as "American," placing all those who were not white and not middle class, and who did not live according to the ideals of domesticity and genteel behavior, as deviant, lacking, and other. In some cases, people, like the African Americans who waited tables at the Fort William Henry Hotel and other tourism workers, have been erased and invisibilized. This essentialization of middle class respectability is an insidious manifestation of capitalist ideology that is wielded to create new markets under consumer capitalism. The idea of respectability and respectability politics, then, ties together the various threads of capitalism as well as the intersectionality of gender, class, and race. This intersectional approach has also made it possible to understand how a middle class resort area like Lake George was created at its intersection with Native American and African American lives. As the middle class shifted their vacationing interests away from Lake George, the Crosbyside failed, closing its doors at the turn of the twentieth century, replaced by Wiawaka Holiday House.

The Crosbyside Hotel

In 1857, the Crosbyside Hotel opened on the shores of Lake George, New York, an early mixed gender resort hotel catering to the increasing numbers of middle class people from New York City and elsewhere who were simultaneously inventing and partaking in the vacation habit: a regular respite from their middle class managerial jobs in the factories

and businesses of industrial urban America. Derided by some (Burroughs 1908), most – including employers -- proclaimed it a necessary respite from work; a time to regain physical and mental health in nature to offset the mental exertions of the middle class working world (manual workers, they argued, kept physically fit through their labor). The performance of middle class respectability was very much part of the vacation habit: where you went, who the other guests were, how you dressed, how you interacted, etc.; all confirmed and established your social position.

The amenities provided by resort hotels and their workers – the location, the view from the verandah, the bright white linens, the dining, and accommodations – were all directed to making middle class guests feel welcome and comfortable; in other words, the ideology of respectability in action. Soft drinks instead of alcohol were served; diners enjoyed the many courses of a la Russe dining; and the genteel set promenaded along the verandah in a ritual of mutual recognition that was both social and material. Even though they were in Nature, away from the urban crush, artifacts recovered show that the women were wearing corsets, jewelry, and hats that needed pins and men sported collars. Behind the scenes, workers went through countless bottles of laundry bluing; prepared and served countless courses at mealtimes and cleaned up the many smaller plates that were used; made the beds; swept the floors; kept the grounds including the gardens and livestock; and ate from a common platter when they were able. All with the expected smile and “my pleasure” that projected an innate desire to host their guests.

Wiawaka Holiday House

Wiawaka Holiday House opened in the former Crosbyside Hotel buildings in 1903. It was founded by middle class women as a place where working women from the factories of Troy, Watervliet, and Cohoes near Albany, New York could have an affordable vacation; a respite from the unhealthy factories and the dangers that lurked in urban areas. This moral reform ideology had its roots in white middle class respectability, but its manifestation at Wiawaka Holiday House and other women's holiday houses was quintessentially of the Progressive Era. During the early twentieth century, industrial capitalism shifted to consumer capitalism. In the quest for larger profits, companies looked to expand their markets by marketing goods to the previously-untapped working class while simultaneously creating markets that did not previously exist -- including the cosmetics industry. An assemblage from the late 1910s and 1920s associated with the women of Wiawaka Holiday House allows the ideologies of middle class respectability, identity, and the power of respectability polities to become visible. Wiawaka Holiday House, now Wiawaka Center for Women, remains open, the longest continuously operating women's retreat in the United States.

Given these contexts, artifacts and documentary evidence associated with the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka Holiday House were used to explore several avenues of inquiry, posed in Chapter 1. What, for example, do these sources tell us about the intersection of identities (race, class, and gender) during these periods? What do they tell us about how people spent their vacation time? How do we distinguish the labor of leisure from leisure, and how did these differ (if at all) at Crosbyside and Wiawaka? How do identities

intersect in the context of vacations? What do the artifacts recovered reveal about changes in mission, ideology, and/or visitors over time? Can these changes be linked to societal shifts? What is the role of identities in the formation and performance of these ideologies? What are the power relationships inherent in these ideologies, and how do we see them at the Crosbyside or at Wiawaka?

Evidence from the Crosbyside Hotel and Wiawaka queers the ideas of performance and the discursive production of discrete categories as proposed by Homi Bhaba's Third Space. In both contexts, the inseparability of race, class, and gender in the performance of each of them is inextricably intertwined with the others, as well as with the industrialization of America and the development of the middle class. These identities, in other words, are not formed solely in discourse with their "antagonistic polarities" (Bhabha 1994:29): middle class is not formed solely in discourse with working or elite classes; whiteness is not formed solely in discourse with other races; and male is not strictly defined in discourse with female. While it is possible to strategically focus on one category, it cannot be isolated: the tensions present in creating and maintaining gender include those that create and maintain class and race, just as the tensions present in creating and maintaining class include those of gender and race.

What we see at Crosbyside and Wiawaka is the inextricability of intersectional identities like class, gender, and race in the context of industrial and consumer capitalism, and how this has resulted in the privileging of white, middle class gender ideologies as respectable, American values. These standards of respectability replicate themselves and

the capitalist system in which they were formed through mechanisms including respectability politics, whereby disenfranchised and oppressed groups (like people of color, the working class, LGBTQ people) internalize the dominant ideals of respectability and begin to police themselves and their own communities according to them. This is particularly evident at Wiawaka, where the use of cosmetics and toiletries in the 1910s and 1920s appears to be the same among the working class and middle class visitors, reflecting a white, middle class, respectable femininity. This ideal was maintained even though Wiawaka Holiday House distanced itself ca. 1920 from the Girls' Friendly Society, the Episcopalian moral reform society under whose auspices Wiawaka was originally founded (as evidenced by shifts in marks on ceramics). While the appearance of guests was respectable, there is evidence in the form of alcoholic beverage bottles that there was some behavioral resistance to the banning of alcohol from the site (white middle class respectability at the time was also strongly built around temperance). Other artifacts, including bottles that once contained Citrate of Magnesia, Bromo Seltzer, and Carbona as well as Sterno cans hint at the possibility of both recreational substance use and abuse. What is unclear is whether this resistance came from the working women staying at Wiawaka Holiday House or the middle class Associates who both visited and ran the site – or both.

At the Crosbyside Hotel, white middle class respectability was negotiated in the context of a mixed-gender resort. In public places, like the dining room and the verandah, the realms of respectability had to include considerations of gender. At Wiawaka – a place apart from the dangers of masculine urban spaces and from men – we can see what

realms of bodily performance women saw as essential in an environment free from direct male gaze. Despite its ideology as a place where working women could escape the dangers and degradations of urban, mixed-gender life, the reality of Wiawaka was not about freedom from the strictures of feminine propriety. An examination of artifacts from Wiawaka, like the numerous bottles of skin creams, Odo-Ro-No deodorant, and talc cans, makes it clear that the production of gender – in this case, femininity -- does not require the direct presence of what Bhaba refers to as its "antagonistic polarity:" masculinity (Bhabha 1994:29). There were no men at Wiawaka (the caretaker was physically segregated from the main part of the site), and yet, the guests – both middle class and working women – continued to perform femininity, albeit a new definition of femininity created and performed in dialogue with each other and in the specific context of the holiday house. This femininity, which most closely aligned with white, middle-class ideals of appropriateness, eschewed makeup like lipstick and rouge (evidenced in the lack of makeup containers recovered), but allowed creams to reduce redness from the sun (evidenced in the several different types of skin creams found); freed women from their corsets (though some women may have still worn them at this time, no corset hardware was recovered from the Wiawaka contexts); and, as seen in the photos of Hazel Vandenbugh, permitted hair to be let down.[12] Just as Bentham's panopticon mediates appropriate social behavior, the patriarchy – deeply internalized in American society -- mediates appropriate gender expression in this case, whether men are present or not (patriarchy also mediates the appropriate gender expression of men whether women are

[12] For respectable women (who would have had long hair at the time) to let their hair down was unthinkable in other contexts. At Wiawaka, however, it could be seen both as a relaxing of strict requirements of femininity, but also as an assertion of status: the short, bob cut popular with flappers, was not considered appropriate in middle class circles. Women with bob cuts were unable to "let their hair down."

present or not, which is one reason masculinity needs to be interrogated; see work on masculinities including Alberti 2006; Wilke 2001, 2010).

In both Crosbyside and Wiawaka contexts, the labor of leisure was evident. At the Crosbyside Hotel, employees did the laundry, using bluing and spot cleaners to make linens seem whiter. They prepared and served meals and drinks, while the owners balancing respectability against cost in the selection of tablewares used. At Wiawaka and at other holiday houses, working women were responsible for creating their own vacations and those of the other guests, by volunteering in various capacities. Making beds, serving meals, and other chores both reduced the staff costs of running these types of places, but were also ways of teaching guests appropriate middle class domestic standards and skills.

Contributions

Third Space

This work expands on the use of Bhabha's Third Space (Bhabha 1994). He conceived of social characteristics as formed through dynamic tensions between two polarities. This assumes that characteristics are necessarily binary, which in the case of class, is not the case in practice (though at the heart of capitalism, there may still be just those who produce profit and those who benefit). The multiple categories of class that we treat as real are formed in tension with and against each other: middle class, working class, and elite, as well as the various sub-categories of these, like the upper-middle class (see also Traub 2010:217). Gender, too, is not limited to a male/female binary. While many

cultures recognize multiple genders, even in western society we functionally recognize children as a third gender (defined by their lack of gender). More expansive constructions of gender are found in the anthropological and archaeological literature of cultures that recognized multiple genders (for overviews, see Nanda 2014; Roscoe 2016) and in gender and queer studies that recognize gender as a continuum rather than a set of fixed identities. In all of these studies, gender identity and expression may or may not shift throughout a person's life based on numerous factors (articulated in the 1940s and the 1950s by Alfred Kinsey; Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research 1953; Kinsey et al. 1948), further complicating the idea of a binary tension. Despite these critiques, Third Space remains a useful theoretical intervention in looking at how characteristics and identities that are generally considered to be essentialized, natural, and fixed are culturally created dynamically and in tension with others, and are not essential identities.

Labor of Leisure

Given the need for the middle class to distinguish themselves from laborers since they invented themselves in the industrializing nineteenth century, the development of the vacation habit as a middle class endeavor, and the essentializing of tourism work as apart from capitalism, it is perhaps no surprise that there has been such little work done in history or archaeology on the labor of leisure. The result has been an invisibilizing of those who, behind the scenes, make the holiday vacation experiences of guests possible. Shaped by the ideology of the middle class, we as researchers have focused on the middle class experience of the vacation. This work expands on work done by LuAnn Wurst (2011), Maria O'Donovan (2011) and others who have looked explicitly at the

archaeological manifestation of the labor of leisure, further supporting their arguments that this is a relevant and rich area of research. A relatively new and underdeveloped area of inquiry, any additions to the work on the labor of leisure are potentially significant. My research, however, does more than just identify the laborers and their labor, but examines how their labor is both shaped by the demands of capitalist middle-class respectability and influences class, race, and gender identities. At the Crosbyside Hotel, workers did laundry, using bluing to make whites such as table cloths or bed linens appear gleaming for the middle class guests. While they served guests a la Russe in the dining room, laborers ate Old English style, serving themselves from platters of food. At Wiawaka, visitors were both guests and workers. In addition to keeping costs down and helping to ensure the continuation of the holiday house, making beds and other domestic chores were a means of imparting the habits of respectable middle class discipline on to the "working girls" brought to the site for an affordable vacation. Bringing the labor (and laborers) of leisure into focus provides information about labor, ideas of leisure, and the underlying systems of capitalist ideologies.

Capitalism

This study furthers work being done in studying capitalism, including how changes in the forms of capitalism are reflected socially and materially (see, for example, Roller 2015a, 2015b). In 1988, Leone and Potter challenged archaeologists to pierce the ideology of capitalism. This study shows that an intersectional approach, grounded in feminist and queer archaeologies, is able to pierce the capitalist ideology that equates white middle class respectability with *de facto* American values. Through this lens, we see that the

American Dream is an ideology that encourages and enforces respectability politics with the promise of social acceptability – by definition equated with an advancement to the middle class. This is an ideology that continues to play out in today's society: African Americans change their speech patterns and appearance to get jobs; LGBTQ organizations (and people) shun more radical and marginal members of LGBTQ communities to present a respectable front that is deserving of civil rights; poor people are characterized as lazy, wasteful, substance abusers who otherwise would be able to pull themselves up by their bootstraps – an argument used to deny them social services and other assistance (see, for example, Badger 2015; Moreno 2017; Simpson 2009; Thrasher 2016). This idea of respectability politics connects the broader archaeological questions around capitalism, identities, intersectionality, and the manipulation and negotiation of these via material culture.

Feminist Archaeology

As a feminist project, one of my goals was to connect the history of Wiawaka – particularly the women of Wiawaka -- to the realities of American women today. On site, with the volunteers and visitors, this was done by being explicit about my feminist and intersectional approach, and explaining Third Space and respectability politics. Conversations about artifact interpretation and site history were consistently grounded in these issues during excavations, in the lab, and to the public in talks or newspaper coverage. Talking about these issues as they played out in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave a comfortable distance for people to understand how the pieces fit together, and to make connections to the present. In this light, volunteers and I

discussed the pay gap that starts at white women's 82 cents on the dollar versus white men and widens to 65 cents on the dollar for Black women and 58 cents on the dollar for Hispanic women; for transgender women of color, the wage gap is even bleaker (Goyette 2015; Patten 2016). We talked about structural violence that results in the neighborhoods of working class, LGBTQ, and people of color being bulldozed for gentrification. We discussed privilege. And we shared information about our own lives. Conversations happened in excavation units and over screens between people of drastically different backgrounds and generations as they shared their own histories and experiences. Young people who thought that racism, sexism, and classism were old news began to see otherwise and learned about the realities of political action from those who had been on the front lines; and older folks got to talk with youth ready to make their mark. All were changed, to some degree.

One memorable conversation I overheard during a day of digging shovel tests told me that at least some of these conversations were productive. The conversation was between a young, self-proclaimed feminist, fired up and idealistic, and a middle age self-described lesbian feminist who had marched in the streets in the 1970s. They talked about protest, the patriarchy, and nuance; they shared their experiences; and they strategized how to change the world.

Where to From Here?

Moving forward, there are several areas of archaeological investigation that can expand upon this work. At the most basic, more work at hotels and resorts as well as women's

holiday houses is needed to better understand the intricacies of these institutions. There is very little archaeology of hotels and lodging, particularly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More work at these sites, which are both domestic and capitalist in nature, can help us better understand both of these concepts, and to develop more complete archaeological contexts. Additional work will also speak to the variations in these categories: hotel resorts versus travelers' hotels, for example (see Fyfe and Holdsworth 2009 and Weaver et al. 2007 for examination of guests at travelers' hotels), or moral reform holiday houses like Wiawaka versus those run by unions, factories, or the working women themselves. What does respectability look like in each of these places, and how do respectability politics and resistance play out differently based on the underlying ideologies of these places? It is my sense that there are important distinctions and lessons in all of these places regarding gender, class, race, and capitalism, as well as opportunities to challenge assumptions and preconceived notions that pervade archaeological interpretation.

Further excavation at these types of sites can also illuminate disconnects between ideology and practice – an area that is being explored in the contexts of resistance and adaptation (see, for example, Springate 2017b). How do events and programs at these places, evidenced through the archaeological record, align with what the organizers said they were doing? Were some things modified in practice versus in theory in the management of the sites? Expanding the discussion of resistance against moral reform ideologies to include these as resistance against capitalism will, I believe, prove fruitful.

Perhaps the most important intervention of this work, which has the potential to move archaeology forward, is the call to recognize the unspoken privileging of white, male, middle class-ness as the standard by which we evaluate "others." Working at heterotopias like single-gender sites and vacation resorts helps make the dynamic nature of identities visible. As we do more work seeing, for example, how race/class/gender are formed in relationship to each other and also between the various identities encompassed by each of those terms, we need to take this level of interpretation to other, non-heterotopias. In order to be able to move past our biases, we must challenge the white, middle-class, gendered status quo that we have been silently comparing "other" sites to, and therefore privileging as "the norm." Simply acknowledging this bias begins to destabilize the colonial, patriarchal, white supremacist, and capitalist roots of archaeology, making them visible and therefore places of intervention.

Appendix A: Shovel Test Unit Logs

Table Appendix A-1: Shovel Test Unit Log Area 1 (Crosbyside)

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
1STP1	S150E330	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-9cm 9-36cm 36-50cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Sandy loam Stopped by rocks	Ceramics, glass, coal, nails	CS LR
1STP2	S150E335	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-7cm 7-18.5cm 18.5-29.4cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Clay silt loam Silt loam Sandy silt	glass, metal, ceramic, coal	WF GG
1STP3	S150E340	1 2 3 4	Ao Fill B1 B2	0-9cm 9-25cm 25-34cm 34-40cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/1 blk 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/6 yw bn	Silt loam, roots Silty sandy loam, roots Clayey sandy loam, roots Clayey sandy loam	Sheet metal; window glass; container glass; shoe eyelets; bead; nails; ceramics; lead	CS LR
1STP4	S150E345	1 2 3 4	Ao A B1 B2	0-6.5cm 6.5-13.5cm 13.5-30cm 30-45cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 7.5YR3/2 dk bn 10YR5/6 yw bn 10YR5/3 bn	Silty loam, roots Silty loam, roots Sandy silt Sandy silt	Moved 1ft E. burnt bone, flat metal, coal, container glass	CS LR
1STP5	S150E350	1 2 3 4	Ao A B1 B2	0-4cm 4-11cm 11-22cm 22-43cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 7.5YR5/2 bn	Silty loam, roots Silty loam, roots Sandy silt Clayey silty sand	Charcoal	CS LR
1STP6	S155E350	1 2 3	A B1 B2	0-9cm 9-29cm 29-45cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR5/6 yw bn 10YR5/3 bn	Silty loam, cobbles Sandy Silt, cobbles Silty clay	Container glass, brick frag	CS LR
1STP7	S155E345			Not dug; very close to EU				
1STP8	S155E340			Not dug; very close to EU				
1STP9	S155E335	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-16cm 16-38.1cm 38.1-48.4cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/3 bn	Silty loam Silty loam Clay loam	glass, metal, ceramic, tar/asphalt	WF GG

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
1STP10	S155E330	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-20cm 20-45cm 45-55cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Sandy silty loam Sandy silt	glass, chimney glass, metal, coal, whiteware, mortar, oil burner, glass stopper	CM, NS
1STP11	S160E330	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-5cm 5-27cm 27-?cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn ?	Sandy silt loam Silt loam ?	glass, coal, ceramic	WF, GG, LZ, JP, EN
1STP12	S160E335	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-15cm 15-25cm 25-49cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam, roots, sm gravel Silty loam Silty clay	Coal, glass, ceramics, metal	CS LR
1STP13	S160E340	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-8cm 8-19cm 19-29cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Clay loam Sandy loam	glass, coal, metal, ceramics	WF GG
1STP14	S160E345	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-6.5cm 6.5-20.6cm 20.6-31.1cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Silty loam Sandy silt	glass, metal, ceramic, coal	GG WF JP LZ
1STP15	S160E350	1 2 3 4	Ao A B1 B2	0-5cm 5-12cm 12-30cm 30-40cm	10YR3/1 v dk gy 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR5/3 bn	Silty loam, roots Clayey sandy silty loam Sandy silty loam Sandy clayey silty loam	NONE	CS LR
1STP16	S165E350			Not Recorded			Container glass, coal	CS LR
1STP17	S165E345	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-6.5cm 6.5-18cm 18-36cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Sandy silt Clayey sand	Coal	CS LR
1STP18	S165E340	1 2	Ao A	0-6cm 6-48cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Silty loam, roots Clay loam Stopped by rocks	NONE	CS LR
1STP19	S165E335	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-6cm 6-40cm 40-60cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR4/3 bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay Sandy clay	Glass	CS LR
1STP20	S165E330	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-7cm 7-32cm 32-33cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/8 yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Sandy silty clay	glass, ceramic	CM, NS

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
1STP21	S165E325	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-15cm 15-45cm 45-55cm	10YR 4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/8 yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Sandy silty clay	Coal	CM, NS
1STP22	S152.5E345	1 2	Ao B	0-7cm 7-19cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR5/6 yw bn	Silty loam Shale gravel Stopped by root	cut nail	CM
1STP23	S155E347.5	1 2	Ao B	0-15cm 15-35cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR5/4 yw bn m/w 10YR 5/6 yw bn	Silty sandy loam Silty sand	NONE	CM
1STP24	S160E347.5	1 2 3	Ao AB B	0-13cm 13-28cm 28-46cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn Mottled 10YR3/3 dk bn, 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Silty sandy loam Silty sandy loam Silty sand	bottle glass	CM, MF
1STP25	S162.5E345	1 2 3	Ao Fill AB	0-10cm 10-20cm 20-25cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Silty clay loam Stopped by layer of shale or compacted clay 10YR5/2	bottle glass, whiteware, metal, nails, coal	CM
1STP26	S162.5E340	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-10cm 10-35cm 35-45cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Silty sandy clay	coal, glass, ceramic, metal	CM, NB
1STP27	S162.5E335	1 2	Ao Fill	0-13cm 13-37cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Stopped by root	Glass, ceramic	CM, NS
1STP28	S167.5E330	1 2 3	Ao AB B	0-11cm 11-23cm 23-37cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/6 yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Silty clay loam	glass	CM, NS
1STP29	S165E327.5	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-10cm 10-27cm 27-49cm	10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/8 yw bn	Silty loam Silty clay loam Sandy silty clay	NONE	CM, NS

Table Appendix A-2: Shovel Test Unit Log Area 2 (Crosbyside Hotel)

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
2STP1	S105E165	1 2 3	Ao Fill B	0-22cm 22-36cm 36-50cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR7/2 lt gy 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Degraded plaster Sandy	plaster, glass, nails, charcoal	Vassar
2STP2	S110E165	1 2 3 4	Ao Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3	0-18cm 18-54cm 54-56cm 56-80cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR7/3 v pale bn m/w 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR6/8 bn yw 10YR4/5 dk yw bn	Topsoil Fill Sandy Sand and Fill	Brick, mortar, nails, charcoal, glass, ceramics. Big bricks and rocks photo'd and replaced	Vassar
2STP3	S115E165	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-22cm 22-30cm 30-39cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/3 bn	Very rocky Fewer rocks Sand	brick, redware	Vassar
2STP4	S120E165	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-28cm 28-46cm 46-53cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn	Silty loam Silty sand Clayey sandy silt	nails, whiteware, glassware	Vassar
2STP5	S120E170	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-27cm 27-53cm 53+cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 2.5YR4/3 rd bn	Loam Silty sand Silty sand	metal strap in level 1	Vassar
2STP6	S120E175	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-24cm 24-34cm 34-42cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR5/8 yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Loam Clay Silty clay Stopped by rock	glass	Vassar
2STP7	S120E180	1 2 3	A1 A2 B	0-23cm 23-36cm 36-48cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Clay silt Sandy clay silt Silty clay		
2STP8	S115E180	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-20cm 20-30cm 30-43cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Loam Dense roots Loose	glass	
2STP9	S115E175	1 2	Ao Fill	0-30cm 30-59cm	10YR 3/3 dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Loam w. ochre Silty sand	ceramic, ochre, horseshoe?, glass	Vassar
2STP10	S115E170	1 2	A B	0-20cm 20-34cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	? Sandy	metal, glass	Vassar

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
2STP11	S110E180	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-18cm 18-32cm 32-38cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/2 v dk gy bn	Loam Silty sand Clayey sandy silt	glass	Vassar
2STP12	S110E175	1 2	Ao Fill	0-16cm 16-90cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Loam Subsoil (redeposited?)	Mixed historic, tin sheet at 60cm, brick	Vassar
2STP13	S110E170	1 2 3	Ao A A/B	0-19cm 19-30cm 30-46cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn	Loam Silty Sand Clayey sandy silt	nails, ceramics	Vassar
2STP14	S105E180	1 2	Ao A	0-17cm 17-40cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/3 bn	? ? Stopped by roots	Hinge (33cm)	Vassar
2STP15	S105E175	1 2	Ao Fill	0-27cm 27-93cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/3 bn	Loam Silty Clay Stopped by bedrock	ceramic, whiteware, brick, metal, nails, plaster, creamware, porcelain, glass bottles, bucket	Vassar
2STP16	S105E170	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-19cm 19-44cm 44-60cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sand and clay Sandy loam	plastic, glass, whiteware, nails, charcoal, projectile point tip (from sub)	Vassar
2STP17	S105E185	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-30cm 30-63cm 63-91cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Silty sand Clayey sandy silt	glass, coal	Vassar
2STP18	S105E190	1 2 3	Ao A A/B	0-5cm 5-23cm 23-41cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Silty clay Clayey silt	coal	Vassar
2STP19	S105E195	1 2 3	Ao A ?	0-19cm 19-26.5cm 26.5-33cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR5/4 yw bn ?	Loam Clay, thick roots	coal	Vassar
2STP20	S100E195	1 2	Ao B	0-20cm 20-45cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Loam Subsoil	NCM	Vassar
2STP21	S100E190	1 2 3 4	Ao A B1 B2	0-2.5cm 2.5-31cm 31-50cm 50-51cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 7.5YR4/6 strg bn	Loam Silty Clay Silty Clay Silty Clay	brick	Vassar

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
2STP22	S100E185	1 2 3 4	Ao A A/B B	0-5cm 5-30cm 30-45cm 45-60cm	10YR3/1 v dk gy 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR5/3 bn 7.5YR5/6 strg bn	Loam Silty Silty sand Silty sand	coal, glass, brick	Vassar
2STP23	S100E180	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-8cm 8-36cm 36-49cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy clay Sandy clay	glass, coal	Vassar
2STP24	S100E175	1 2 3 4	Ao A A/B B	0-5cm 5-15cm 15-35cm 35-55cm	10YR3/1 v dk gy 10YR4/1 dk gy 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Clay Sandy silt ?	glass, coal	Vassar
2STP25	S100E170				Undiggable, road/slope			
2STP26	S100E165				Undiggable, road/slope			
2STP27	S095E165				Undiggable, road/slope			
2STP28	S095E170				Undiggable, road/slope			
2STP29	S095E175				Undiggable, road/slope			
2STP30	S095E180				Not Dug			
2STP31	S095E185				Not Dug			
2STP32	S095E190	1 2 3	Ao A/B B	0-10cm 10-50cm 50cm+	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 7.5YR4/6 stg bn	Loam Sandy clay Clay	NCM	Vassar

Table Appendix A-3: Shovel Test Unit Log Area 3 (Pine Cottage Rear Yard)

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
3STP1	S210E195	1 2	A B	0-3cm 3-35cm Stopped by rocks	10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/3 dk bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay	nails, glass, coal, plastic	PM, JZ
3STP2	S205E200	1 2 3	A Fill Fill	0-3cm 3-7cm 7-34cm Stopped by rocks	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR5/3 bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Sand	glass, ceramic, brick, nails, coal	PM, JZ
3STP3	S195E210	1 2 3 4 5 6	Ao Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 Fill 4 B	0-2.5cm 2.5-10cm 10-14.7cm 14.7-24.5cm 24.5-30cm 30-50cm	2.5Y2/1 blk 2.5Y3/2 v dk gy bn Gley1 5/10Y grn gy 5YR5/2 rd gy 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy sand Ash Sandy Loam Loamy Sand Loamy Sand	nails, glass, architectural stone, charcoal, coal, wood, screws, button, brick, hook, flat glass, bottle glass, mortar, door hinge	CS, CH
3STP4	S200E215	1 2 3	Ao Am B	0-3cm 3-8cm 8-48cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR5/6 yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Loamy sand	nails, paint chip, coal, brick, mortar	PM, JZ
3STP5	S195E215	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-3cm 3-14cm 14-35cm Stopped at bedrock	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Loamy sand	ceramics, coal, brick, nail, bottle glass, mortar, quartz	PM, JZ
3STP6	S190E215	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-2cm 2-11cm 11-24cm 24-33cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Sandy clay Sandy clay	flat glass, architectural stone, charcoal	CS, CH
3STP7	S185E215	1 2 3 4 5	Ao Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 B	0-3cm 3-29cm 29-31.5cm 31.5-56cm 56-60cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 2.5YR2/1 vy dusky rd Gley 1 6/10Y grn gy 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy clay Ash Loamy clay Sandy clay	glass bottle, flat glass, nails, mortar, animal bone, ceramic, coal, tooth, wood, shell, architectural stone	CS, CH
3STP8	S220E230	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-4cm 4-9cm 9-20cm 20-32cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy Loam Loamy Sand Loamy Sand	brick, charcoal	CH, CS

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
3STP9	S215E230	1 2 3	Ao A/B B	0-2cm 2-13cm 13-31cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy Loam Loamy Clay Loamy Clay	NOTHING	CH, PM
3STP10	S210E230	1 2 3	Ao Am B	0-1.5cm 1.5-15cm 15-41cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR5/6 yw bn	Sandy Loam Loamy Clay Loamy Sand	Iron studs, brick, nails, glass, ceramics	CH, PM
3STP11	S220E235	1 2 3	A A/B B	0-7cm 7-31cm 31-44cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy Loam Loamy Clay Loamy Clay	Ceramic, brick, coal	PM, JZ
3STP12	S210E235	1	A	0-7cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn Stopped by roots	Sandy Loam	nail, coal, clinker	BS, SM
3STP13	S205E235	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-3cm 3-13cm 13-22cm 22-30cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Loamy clay Sandy clay Sandy loam	Coal	CS, CH
3STP14	S210E240	1 2	Ao B	0-20cm 20-59cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn Stopped by rock and root	Sandy loam Silty loam	coal, clinker	BS, SM
3STP15	S205E240	1 2	A B	0-25cm 25-51cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Sandy Loam Silty Loam	Coal	BS, SM
3STP16	S200E240	1 2 3	Ao A B	0-2cm 2-14cm 14-26cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy clay Loamy clay	Ceramic, coal, brick	CS, CH
3STP17	S210E245	1 2 3	Ao A/B B	0-5cm 5-28cm 28-48cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Loamy sand	Nail, clinker	PM, JZ
3STP18	S205E245	1 2 3	Ao A/B B	0-22cm 22-29cm 29-42cm	10YR4/2 dk gy bn 10YR6/2 lt bn gy 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Loamy clay Sandy clay Sandy clay	brick, coal, nail, clinker	PM, JZ
3STP19	S200E245	1 2	A B	0-3cm 3-38cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy Loam	NCM	PM, JZ

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
3STP20	S195E245	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-3cm 3-18.5cm 18.5-33cm 33-44cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy clay Loamy sand Loamy sand	charcoal, coal	CH, CS

Table Appendix A-4: Shovel Test Unit Log Area 4 (Lawn)

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
4STP1	S90E100	1	A	0-12cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam	mortar, charcoal	PM, JZ, CS
4STP2	S90E110	1 2 3 4 5	Ao Fill 1 Fill 2 A/B B	0-9cm 9-18cm 18-21cm 21-26cm 26-50cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn Gley2 4/5B dk bl gy 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn Stopped by bedrock	Loamy clay Sandy loam Ash Loamy clay Sandy clay	ceramic, charcoal, chert, metal, clinker, mortar, nail, coal slag, coal, glass, string, quartz	PM, JZ, CS
4STP3	S90E120	1 2 3 4	A A/B B1 B2	0-5cm 5-13cm 13-23cm 23-43cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Sandy clay Loamy clay Sandy loam Sandy loam	cinder, nail, charcoal	PM, JZ, CS
4STP4	S95E95				Not excavated. Bedrock at surface			
4STP5	S95E105	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-2cm 2-20cm 20-30cm 30-40cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw gn	Loam Loamy sand Sandy loam Loamy sand	`nails, flat glass, ceramic	CH, CS
4STP6	S95E115	1 2 3 4 5 6	A Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 Ab A/B	0-4cm 4-8cm 8-13cm 13-39cm 39-51cm 51-58cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn Stopped by rocks	Loamy clay Sandy loam Silty loam Sand and mortar Loamy clay Loamy clay	nails, mortar, architectural stone, glass, chert, wire	MS, JZ

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
4STP7	S95E125	1 2 3	Am B1 B2	0-14cm 14-25cm 25-50cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Silty loam Sandy loam Sandy loam	nails, glass, mortar, plaster, architectural stone, coat hook	JZ, MS
4STP8	S90E130	1 2	A Fill 1	0-12cm 12-20cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/1 blk Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Sandy loam /ash	Nails, brick, ash, glass, mortar, ceramic, metal Hotel destruction layer	CH, CS
4STP9	S100E130	1 2 3 4 5 6	Ao Am Fill 1 Fill 2 A/B B	0-2cm 2-7.5cm 7.5-12cm 12-17.5cm 17.5-30cm 30-50cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/2 dk gy bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 7.5YR4/6 stg bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Loamy sand Loamy sand Mortar/Ash Sandy loam Loamy sand	Nail, brick, mortar, glass, ceramic, metal, staple	CH, CS
4STP10	S100E120	1 2 3 4 5	A Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 Fill 4	0-3cm 3-6cm 6-12cm 12-24cm 24-32cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/1 v dk gy 10YR5/2 gy bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR6/3 pale bn Stopped by rock	Silty loam Mortar, loam Mortar, charcoal Sandy clay Sand and mortar	nails, mortar, coat hook, glass, metal, architectural stone Discards: 5 architectural stone, 5,000g	JZ, MS
4STP11	S100E110	1 2 3 4	A Fill 1 Fill 2 B	0-6cm 6-25cm 25-42cm 42-53cm	10YR3/1 v dk gy 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Silty loam Loamy clay Loamy clay Sandy loam	brick, charcoal, glass, nails	PM, JZ
4STP12	S100E100	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-1cm 1-10cm 10-20cm 20-31cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy clay Sandy clay Loamy sand	nail, brick, glass	CH, CS
4STP13	S100E90	1	A	0-4cm	10YR2/1 blk Stopped by rock	Loam	NCM	CS

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
4STP14	S105E125	1 2 3 4 5	Ao Am Fill 1 Fill 2 B	0-2cm 2-15cm 15-30cm 30-49cm 49-65cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 2.5Y7/2 lt gy 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Mortar/Ash Mortar/Ash Loamy sand	Brick, nail, metal post, ceramic, mortar, iron donut-shaped object, plaster, glass, staple, charcoal, bedspring, screw, hinge, pin, tack, ceramic knob Discard: 26 brick 5,000g; 24 stone 6,500g	CH, CS
4STP15	S105E115				Not Excavated; in butterfly garden			
4STP16	S105E105	1 2 3 4	A Fill 1 Fill 2 B	0-8cm 8-18cm 18-26cm 26-50cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 5YR6/1 gy 10YR5/4 yw bn	Loamy clay Sandy clay Ash/mortar Sandy clay	nails, charcoal, glass, mortar	PM, JZ
4STP17	S105E95	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-3cm 3-21cm 21-37cm 37-52cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy loam Loamy sand Sandy loam	brick, nails, flat glass, mortar, 2 cent coin, charcoal	JZ, CH
4STP18	S105E85	1 2	Ao A/B	0-7cm 7-18cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn Stopped by rock	Loam Sandy loam	chert	JZ, CH
4STP19	S110E110	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-2cm 2-9.5cm 9.5-20cm 20-30cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Loamy sand Loamy sand	brick, flat glass, mortar	CH, CS
4STP20	S110E100	1 2 3 4	A B1 B2 B3	0-4cm 4-10cm 10-16cm 16-23cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Clay loam Clay loam Sandy clay	chert, coal	SM, MES
4STP21	S110E90	1 2 3	Ao A/B B	0-5cm 5-16cm 16-28cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/3 dk bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Loamy sand Loamy sand	mortar, brick, nail	JZ, CH

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
4STP22	S110E80	1 2	Ao Am	0-8cm 8-13cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn Stopped by rock	Silty sand Sand	chert, brick, ceramic	JZ, CH
4STP23	S115E105	1 2	Ao Am	0-3cm 3-11cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn Stopped by rock	Loam Sandy loam	nails, chert, brick	JZ, CH
4STP24	S115E95	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-2cm 2-17cm 17-22cm 22-34cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Sandy loam Sandy clay Sandy loam	plaster, charcoal, glass, wood, brick	CJ, CS
4STP25	S115E85	1 2 3 4 5	A Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 B	0-8cm 8-18cm 18-27cm 27-33cm 33-49cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 5YR4/6 yw rd 10YR4/4 dk yw bn	Loamy clay Sandy clay Sandy clay Clay Sandy Clay	slag, bone, mortar, chert	PM, JZ
4STP26	S120E90	1 2 3 4	A Am B1 B2	0-7cm 7-25cm 25-36cm 36-56cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Clay loam Loamy sand	coal, chert	SM, MES
4STP27	S120E80	1 2 3	A A/B B	0-7cm 7-9cm 9-30cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn Stopped by rocks	Loamy clay Sandy clay Sandy clay	coal	PM, JZ
4STP28	S125E95	1 2 3	A Fill 1 Fill 2	0-8cm 8-14cm 14-26cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn Stopped by rocks	Sandy loam Loamy clay Loamy clay	coal	DM, PT, MES
4STP29	S125E85	1 2 3 4	A Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3	0-5cm 5-11cm 11-15cm 15-20cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Clay sand Sandy clay	nails, bone	MS, PT, DM

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
4STP30	S125E75	1 2 3	A A/B B	0-6cm 6-22cm 22-36cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Loamy sand Loamy sand	chert, nail, glass	SH, MES
4STP31	S125E65	1 2 3	Gravel A B	0-5cm 5-10cm 10-27cm	10YR7/4 v pale bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR5/6 yw bn	Gravel Loamy sandy Sandy loam	charcoal	SH, MES
4STP32	S130E90	1 2 3 4 5	A Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 Fill 4	0-5cm 5-6cm 6-8cm 8-10cm 10-12cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR2/1 blk (burn?) 10YR3/4 dk yw bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Loamy clay Loamy clay Charcoal Sandy loam	nails, paint	MS, PT, DM
4STP33	S130E80	1 2 3 4 5	Ao Am F Fill A/B B	0-3cm 3-10cm 10-23cm 23-28cm 28-41cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn Gley1 5/N gy 2.5Y4/4 rd bn 10YR3/3 dk bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Feature/mortar Sandy clay Loamy sand	nail, charcoal, glass, plaster, escutcheon	CJ, CS
4STP34	S130E70				NOT DUG			
4STP35	S135E95	1 2 3 4	A Fill 1 Fill 2 B	0-3cm 3-15cm 15-19cm 19-32cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Loamy clay Clay	coal, cement, brick, architectural stone, plaster, charcoal	MS, PT, DM
4STP36	S85E105	1 2 3 4	A B1 B2 B3	0-7cm 7-17cm 17-29cm 29-40cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 5YR3/4 dk rd bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy clay Loamy clay Loamy clay Sandy clay	metal bolt, mortar, nail, coal, charcoal, glass, FCR	PM, JZ
4STP37	S85E115	1 2 3 4 5 6	Ao Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 B1 B2	0-3cm 3-14cm 14-20cm 20-25cm 25-38cm 38-48cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR6/1 gy 2.5Y4/3 dk gy bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy clay Sandy clay Ash/burn Clay Sandy loam	nails, chert, brick, mortar, charcoal, glass, coal, metal, clinker, coal slag	CH, CS

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
4STP38	S85E125	1 2 3	A A/B B	0-15cm 15-26cm 26-34cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn Stopped by rock	Sandy clay Loamy clay Loamy clay	nails, mortar, brick, coin, glass, charcoal	CH, CS
4STP39	S85E135	1 2	A A/B	0-10cm 10-13cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/3 dk bn Stopped by rock	Sandy loam Loam	nails, brick, glass, mortar	CH, CS
4STP40	S80E110	1 2 3	A Fill 1 Fill 2	0-7cm 7-30cm 30-35cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn Stopped by rocks	Loamy clay Loamy clay Sandy clay	Mortar, charcoal 3-5cm down we hit a layer of rocks, possible feature, rocks with mortar found.	PM, JZ
4STP41	S80E120	1 2 3	A Fill 1 Fill 2	0-10cm 10-20cm 20-38cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR2/1 blk Stopped by rocks	Loamy clay Clay Loamy clay	mortar	PM, JZ
4STP42	S80E130	1	A	0-17cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn Stopped by rocks	Loamy clay	mortar, plaster, nails, flat glass, glass, glass bead	CS, CH
4STP43	S75E115	1 2 3	A A/B B	0-12cm 12-28cm 28-37cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn 10YR5/6 yw bn	Loamy clay Sandy clay Sandy clay	NCM	PM, JZ
4STP44	S75E125	1 2 3	A Fill 1 Fill 2	0-7cm 7-14cm 14-40cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/3 bn	Loamy clay Sandy clay Sand	mortar, sandstone	PM, JZ

Table Appendix A-5: Shovel Test Unit Log Area 5 (Fuller House Rear Yard)

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
5STP1	S175E45	1 2 3 4	A B1 B2 B3	0-4cm 4-16cm 16-48cm 48-55cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/4 yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Loamy sand Sand	glass, chert, coal, iron	SM, MES
5STP2	S175E50	1 2 3 4	A Fill 1 Fill 2 B	0-6cm 6-16cm 16-21cm 21-52cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Clay loam Sandy loam Ash Loamy sand	ceramic, coal, charcoal, chert, clinker, glass, ceramic	PM, JZ, CH
5STP3	S175E55	1 2 3 4 5 6	Ao Am Fill 1 Fill 2 B1 B2	0-3cm 3-15cm 15-26.5cm 26.5-40cm 40-55cm 55-68cm	10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/1 dk gy 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR4/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/3 bn	Loam Loamy clay ash Loamy sand Loamy sand Sand	coal, glass, clinker, charcoal, nail, glass, ceramic, flat glass, bone, coal slag, wood, brick, mortar	EB, AMR
5STP4	S180E40	1 2 3	Ao Am B	0-2cm 2-21cm 21-40cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Sandy loam	brick, ceramic, coal, wood, nail	CJ, PT, MS
5STP5	S180E45	1 2 3 4 5	Ao Am Fill 1 A/B B	0-9cm 9-17cm 17-28cm 28-40cm 40-50cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR5/4 yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Loamy sand Loamy sand Sandy clay Sandy clay	ceramic, pipe, bone, ferrule, wire, coal, flat glass, clinker, paint, brick	JZ, CH, KM
5STP6	S180E50	1 2 3 4 5	Ao Fill B1 B2 B3	0-10cm 10-22cm 22-41cm 41-54cm 54-58cm	10YR3/2 v dk gy bn 7.5YR4/4 bn-dk bn 10YR5/6 yw bn 2.5Y6/4 lt yw bn 7.5YR3/4 dk bn	Sandy loam Loamy sand Sandy loam Sand Loamy sand	nail, charcoal, clinker, ceramic, flat glass, ferrule, coal slag, chert, glass	EB, AMR, CH
5STP7	S180E55	1 2 3 4 5 6	Ao Am Fill 1 Fill 2 Fill 3 Fill 4	0-2cm 2-21cm 21-24cm 24-28cm 28-47cm 47-61cm	10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 2.5YR5/0 gy 10YR3/3 dk bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Burn Sandy loam Ash Loamy sand	glass, coal, plastic pen lid, plastic, nails, paint, ceramic, brick, foil, slate, shell button, coal slag, clinker, shale, bone, charcoal, stopper	CJ, MPT, MS, CH

Shovel Test Unit	Grid Location	Level	Desc	Depths	Munsell	Soil	Artifacts (all layers together)	Initials
		7 8 9	Fill 5 Fill 6 B	61-63cm 63cm-79cm 79-87cm	2.5YR5/0 gy 10YR5/4 yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn	Ash Loamy sand Sandy loam		
5STP8	S185E40	1 2 3 4	Ao Am Fill 1 B	0-3cm 3-15cm 15-31cm 31-53cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy loam Loamy sand Sandy loam	nails, plastic, charcoal, glass, brick, quartz, chert, wood	LW, DM, PM
5STP9	S185E45	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-2cm 2-10cm 10-19cm 19-41cm	10YR3/6 dk yw bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy loam Sandy clay Loamy sand	charcoal, coal, brick, putty	LW, DM, PM
5STP10	S185E50	1 2 3 4 5 6	A Am Fill 1 Fill 2 B1 B2	0-3cm 3-16cm 16-20cm 20-25cm 25-50cm 50-70cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/3 dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 7.5YR2/0 blk 10YR3/6 dk yw bn 2.5Y5/4 lt olv bn	Sandy loam Clay loam Sandy clay Ash Sandy clay Sand	nail, charcoal, clinker, coal slag, mortar, foil, pipe stem, bone, ceramic, glass	PM, CH
5STP11	S190E40	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-1cm 1-15cm 15-20cm 20-31cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR3/6 dk yw bn	Sandy loam Sandy loam Sandy loam Sandy loam	glass, charcoal, nail, slate	CJ, PT, MS
5STP12	S190E45	1 2	Ao Fill 1	0-2cm 2-27cm	10YR2/1 blk 10YR3/4 dk yw bn Stopped by pipe	Sandy loam Sandy loam	glass, bone, brick, coal	CJ, PT
5STP13	S190E60	1 2 3 4	Ao Am A/B B	0-2cm 2-8cm 8-12cm 12-39cm	10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR2/2 v dk bn 10YR3/4 dk yw bn 10YR4/6 dk yw bn	Loam Sandy loam Sandy clay Sandy loam	clinker, mortar, wood, ceramic, coal	LW, DM, PM

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